

BASIC PRINCIPLES
of **GUIDANCE**



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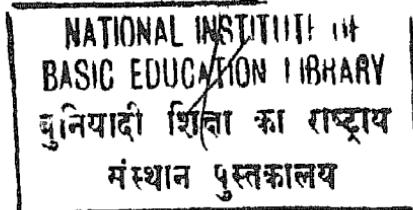
BASIC PRINCIPLES *of* GUIDANCE

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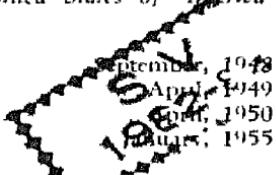
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.

PRENTICE-HALL EDUCATION SERIES
E George Payne, Editor

Formerly GUIDANCE BY THE CLASSROOM TEACHER

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Preface

WHEN THE FIRST EDITION of this book was published under the title *Guidance by the Classroom Teacher*, by Cox and Duff, in 1938, it received sympathetic reviews. There were a few dissenters, but in equal numbers there were reviewers who were embarrassingly enthusiastic. We were to discover rather soon, however, that the more specialized specialists in the guidance field took the attitude of persons whose toes have been trod on, and our book was rewarded by them with polite indifference. Some of them said it was not about guidance.

If what we wrote was heresy, we are unwilling to recant. But we are more than willing to admit that the title *Guidance by the Classroom Teacher* was somewhat misleading. The book was not written for the purpose of reading the specialists out of the profession. On the contrary, we advocate that there be established at least three times as many positions as there are now for specialists in guidance.

It was our intention to demonstrate that guidance cannot be the exclusive prerogative of guidance specialists any more than it can be the exclusive province of the school. We saw guidance in terms of the changes that take place in an individual as he becomes more and more intelligently aware of worthy purposes on which he is willing to spend the resources of his mind, his body, his spirit.

When the publishers reminded us that we should get to work on a revision of *Guidance by the Classroom Teacher*, we started by first of all discarding the title. It was a misleading title, for the text offers principles of guidance that are basic to the practice of all the members of the guidance team. With the consent of the publishers we have changed the title of the book to one that may seem a little stodgy but is a better label for what is inside.

Our next improvement was to take into partnership Marie McNamara. As principal of a widely known junior high school, she is in a key position to observe the guidance process at first hand. She has made the kind of contributions to the text that give it, we are assured, a quality rather different from the fine-spun logic of the arm-chair experts. She has been a guidance counselor and she has taught courses in guidance at the college level; she knows both practice and theory in the idiom of the everyday problems of boys and girls.

The text of this present volume includes some material that was published under the earlier title; but every part of the book has been revised in the sense that it has been re-reviewed, examined, tested, and either retained or entirely rewritten. Much material was deleted, an equivalent amount of new material was added. The book has been re-made, not merely patched up.

The essential philosophy underlying *Basic Principles of Guidance* is identical with the philosophy on which we built *Guidance by the Classroom Teacher*. The principles are the same also. Our teaching, our research, and our practice have strengthened our faith that there can be no effective guidance without consideration of the dynamics of personality development and adjustment. The reports we have from our students and former students, our colleagues, and our professional friends in the field all seem to indicate that the principles we have stated in this book are representative of the dominant trend in the phase of education which has come to be spoken of as "guidance."

J. C. D.

Contents

I	GUIDANCE AND SELF-ADJUSTMENT	1
	<i>Conflict between the democratic ideal and the academic tradition—Secondary education freed from academic dominations—Estimate of the situation—Teachers have friends—Life is like a bicycle—Bill of rights for adolescents—Guidance must be positive—Twelve principles of guidance</i>	
II.	BIOLOGICAL INHERITANCES AS FACTORS IN GUIDANCE	17
	<i>Guidance aims first to promote mental health—Who is normal—Physiology as an element in personality development—Biological inheritance furnishes the fundamental significant postulates of education—Bodily functions are normal only when voluntary nervous controls are quiescent—The complexity of human biological life must be appreciated—Complex of factors, both biological and environmental, affects early adolescence</i>	
III	GUIDANCE FOR INTEGRATED PERSONALITY AND ETHICAL CHARACTER	31
	<i>The chemistry of the soul—Personality is organic—The integrated personality—Effective psychiatry is effective guidance—The ideal personality—The individual psychology—The normal mind—Beyond personality—Good will toward men.</i>	
IV	THE GUIDANCE PROGRAM AS RELATED TO THE OUT-OF-SCHOOL LIVES OF STUDENTS	49
	<i>Broken homes and normal homes—How long is an hour—There is a serious side to being young—The "whole child" grows up—Guidance in a confused and contradictory world—Gaining community cooperation for guidance—Using the dynamics of unspent loyalties—"Exceptional heroism."</i>	
V	THE GUIDANCE ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM TEACHER	70
	<i>The guidance specialist serves best as leader and coordinator and consultant—Teacher-advisers need to know the students and their background—The peak in Darien—</i>	

**V. THE GUIDANCE ROLE OF THE CLASSROOM
TEACHER (Cont.)**

"The operation was a success"—For every hold there is a break—Guidance demands a democratic school administration—The feeling lives of students are more fundamental than their intellectual lives—Successful guidance takes advantage of needs as they arise—"Physician, heal thyself"—No teacher can save the world single-handed—The teacher should be an educated person—Scholarship as a tool, not a fetish—Design for a new teacher.

**VI. CURRICULUM GUIDANCE AND COLLEGE ENTRANCE
REQUIREMENTS**

91

Early choice of a career—Choice hinges on X, unknown factor—Pupil's "I" unknown—Conspicuous waste—When to choose—Misinterpreted, students misinformed—Misunderstanding lies the colleges—Postwar guidance complications—Some will go to college, some to Korea

VII. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN A SHIFTING WORLD

114

Economic perspective for counseling—Socio-economic change and its effect on vocational guidance—Ups and downs of the role of Youth—The vocational counselor faces facts—Psychological basis of wealth—Competitive, individual, and cooperative services—Cooperative production, distribution, and service—Employer-employee relations in the emerging society—Getting a job—What employment possibilities lie ahead

**VIII. EVALUATIONS AND RECORDS AS INSTRUMENTS
OF GUIDANCE**

141

Newer philosophies and practices of evaluation help the teacher guide—The importance of comprehensive cumulative record—Keep records secure yet readily available—Using records for the study of the problems of adolescent youth—The use of tests and measurements for prediction—How adequate are predictions of scholastic success—The use of tests to determine causes of failure: diagnostic tests—Appraisal of newer educational practices—Measuring the intangibles

IX. ORGANIZING THE SCHOOL FOR GUIDANCE

164

Initiating and planning an organization for guidance—The principal formulates his policy—Cooperative planning is indicated—Staff organization for guidance—Should advisers advance from grade to grade with their students—

IX ORGANIZING THE SCHOOL FOR GUIDANCE (*Cont.*)

The guidance organization of large schools is complicated by other factors—The Troup Junior High School Organization—Social workers contribute fresh viewpoints and techniques—Highly centralized organization may be temporarily expedient—Evaluative criteria of Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards—Each school must solve its own organizational problem, tentatively and progressively.

X. THE HOMEROOM AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR GUIDANCE 186

The homeroom group is a gang—Recipe for failure—The family doctor—The raw material for a homeroom—The composition of the homeroom group—Counselor, mediator, advocate—Two plans for every bell—Experimental social mechanics

XI THE CLUB PROGRAM AS AN INSTRUMENTALITY FOR GUIDANCE 208

New oil for the old lamp—Bootleg clubs and bottled-in-bond—Clubs that spring from the curriculum, but don't spring far enough—Whose initiative starts a club—Youth is conservative—Miss Jones doubles in bias—Who must belong—The student holding quotient—“The customer is always right”—Spontaneity but not laissez faire—Paper flowers grow at home—What price freedom—Alpha Beta Gamma and the others—Honor societies—No gong sounds—Sufficient unto the day are the evils, and the good—The bungalow idea—A mountain in search of Mahomet

XII GUIDANCE THROUGH ATHLETICS AND HEALTH EDUCATION 228

Pick-and-shovel athletics—Aesthetic reasons—Success as an intoxicant—Fair play for athletes—What is the moral equivalent of 'varsity victory'—The boy who did not kill himself—Interdependence of mental and physical health—How the school gets in its own way—Personal appearance is a potent motive for physical improvement—Only the happy school is likely to be a healthful school—Guidance for wholesome living

XIII. GUIDANCE THROUGH DRAMATIC ARTS 250

Cops and robbers—Hollywooditis—The school assembly—The audience learns something—The program does not run itself—The critics—Classroom dramas, especially improvisations—The class play—“Education in 1947”

XIV. GUIDANCE THROUGH STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL MANAGEMENT	265
<p><i>To whom does the school belong—Ownership entails obligations—Education for having or for being—Civilization as an objective—Education for citizenship in a democracy—Student government—Government is the crystallization of custom—The student council—The responsibilities of the teacher Precept versus example—articulation with adult civic problems—Recognition—Guidance potentials in student participation.</i></p>	
XV. THE SUBJECTS OF INSTRUCTION—THEIR PLACE IN THE MODERN CURRICULUM AND THEIR VALUE IN GUIDANCE	291
<p><i>If the schools could be free for one generation—A whole curriculum for the "whole child"—Four different standards of value—What true subject organization—What are we bid for our harvest.</i></p>	
XVI. GUIDING YOUTHS OF SUPERIOR INTELLECTUAL ABILITY	303
<p><i>The practical value of abstract intelligence—"Mental discipline" on the rebound</i></p>	
XVII. GUIDING YOUTHS OF SPECIAL ARTISTIC TALENTS	315
<p><i>The wolf at the door—Aesthetic creation embodies aesthetic truth—The value of beauty—How find the artists—Every child an artist—Fine arts high schools—The federal government as a patron of art—The Smith-Hughes equivalent for art education—Prospects for a new Athens in America</i></p>	
XVIII. GUIDING MENTALLY OR PHYSICALLY DEFECTIVE YOUTHS	333
<p><i>Guiding dull-normal youths—Teachers see the seamy side—Good second class minds—Prizes for all—Conserving the marginal area—Stupid children are not always hungry—Guiding students who have permanent physical defects—Guidance in school for the physically and mentally handicapped—Guidance problems and procedures in special schools for students mentally or physically deficient</i></p>	
XIX. GUIDANCE AS THE REDIRECTION OF POTENTIAL DELINQUENTS	357
<p><i>Definition of delinquency—Environmental factors in delinquency—Factors that predispose toward delinquency—Cooperation of all agencies—The juvenile court—Doctors of public welfare—Opportunities and limitations of disciplinary classes and schools—The cost of prevention</i></p>	

XX THE GUIDANCE POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITATIONS OF SPECIAL-TYPE SCHOOLS	378
<i>Guidance problems of full-time vocational schools—Opportunities and limitations of the technical and cooperative school—The opportunities and limitations of evening schools—Opportunities and limitations of vacation schools and summer camps</i>	
XXI. GUIDANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION	395
<i>Where are we now—What lies ahead—The counselor as strategist and tactician—The one world and the common man—The high school is a social microcosm—Youth faces social realities—Universal victory is attainable—Guidance is a lot of things—Successful living involves more than job and income—A final word.</i>	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	411
INDEX	427

BASIC PRINCIPLES
of **GUIDANCE**

CHAPTER ONE

Guidance and Self-Adjustment

WHATEVER may be the traditional scope and functions of secondary education, the school that accords with the program of community life in America is a relatively unique institution. It is a response to new challenges. It is concerned with the conservation and direction of adolescent youths to the end that they and a democratic society may find the adventure and joy and satisfaction of creative living.

In this emerging school, boys and girls, not Latin and algebra, embody the objectives of education. Provisions are sought which safeguard the health, promote the family life, secure civic adjustments, encourage economic efficiency, and provide intelligently for the leisure time of adolescent boys and girls. These are the true curriculum. Behavior difficulties leading directly into distorted personalities are likely to result if rigid curriculum practices thwart the natural impulse of adolescent boys and girls to lead their own lives, to be themselves, to be emancipated from mothering and from meticulous instruction. On the other hand, a constructive curriculum will allow each student a share in selecting his own work, and opportunities to follow and develop worthy avocational interests. With the sanction and help of his teachers he will complete these self-accepted tasks for the joy of accomplishment, the sense of power and the approval of his fellows.

We must see the high school as a potentiality. Here is a creative environment wherein boys and girls respond eagerly to the problems of community life of school and neighborhood.

For the solution of some aspects of these problems every youth is adequate, and his success assures self-confidence and encourages initiative, independence, self-expression, and enthusiasm. Experience in teamwork and in the inhibitions of selfish, socially disapproved behaviors assures these traits in life.

Propagandists for Latin, mathematics, history, and biology and apologists for whatever is, are active in an attempt to protect their vested interests as something-to-be-learned in secondary schools. But we can ill afford protective tariffs for these local industries. Each subject must stand on its real merits, must compete for interest.

Approximately two million boys and girls will enter the seventh grade of our public schools next September. Whatever the precise number, they are everywhere the same unspoiled little folk, happy, lovable, playful—but very serious in their play. In six years these two million children will have grown tall and put on the insignia of young manhood and young womanhood. The success or failure of our democracy lies in the attitudes and behavior of wave upon wave of youth.

Fundamentally and potentially the high school is a whole generation of youths who come at early adolescence into a socialized, creative environment wherein sympathetic, intelligent leaders plan the educational situations. In these situations youths are encouraged to deal with real problems of government and finance, of individual and community sanitation. They may read and sing and study and build in a spirit of play-work. In this ideal community each one will find his work, work for which he is adequate and in which he finds satisfaction. Then failure will cease to be.

After all, failure is an arbitrary conception; each of us would fail if he should compete with Ellsworth Vines, but Vines might be less competent than John or Mary in staging an assembly program. We can find worth-while work to do for which we are adequate. And if we have found our work, we approach it every day with a spirit of adventure and joy. We offer no apology for bringing the zest of play to our work.

The generation in high school today has within it the po-

tentialities of just such a stodgy, stupid, tradition-bound adulthood as ours is, and it has within it the power to blow our social structure to smithereens, but it also has within it the potentialities of the millennium. And nothing less than the millennium is our goal.

Education is an internal process. It is concerned with the nervous system of individuals—their response to situations. Neither the teachers nor anyone else can educate youths. The *activities* of students, actual and potential, are themselves the instrumentalities of education. If the school can affect these activities, stimulating and rewarding some, avoiding or discouraging or sublimating others, it can be effective as an educational institution.

Such stimulations, rewards, avoidances, discouragements, and sublimations are implied in the term *guidance* as it is used in this book. So defined, guidance is the methodology of self-adjustment and, hence, of true education.

*Conflict between the democratic ideal
and the academic tradition*

If the function and scope of American secondary schools were as unitary and consistent as have been those of the German *Gymnasium* and the French *lycée*, personnel problems would not concern us. That is to say, the need of adjustment by the student to the fixed purposes and practices of the school would be the responsibility of the student and his parents. If they could not or would not do the required work with the competency expected by the teachers, or if they would not or could not behave according to the docile, task-performing, unquestioning, standardized patterns set by the school, they would be eliminated as ruthlessly as students are in the traditional *Gymnasium* and *lycée*.

The American secondary school cannot be that kind of school. Indeed, the *Gymnasium* and *lycée* have not been able to maintain their aristocratic academic policies without bitter criticism from the statesmen and socially intelligent people in their own countries. The changing Western civilizations are

compelling academic schoolmasters everywhere to recognize and provide for the adolescent children who will inevitably carry on the industrial, scientific, commercial, political, and civic activities of society during the decades to come.

The dislocations in school practices during transitions—which in American high schools are almost chronic—make pupil-adjustment the inevitably supreme and immediate problem. For the academic traditions of the school are writ deep and clearly in the social minds of parents and teachers and general citizenry. Subconsciously the academic pattern and stereotypes are implicitly accepted by nearly everyone, though many persons, both schoolmen and laymen, would no longer wish youth to submit to the Juggernaut if it were clearly recognized to be what it is.

If the secondary school could really be organized and planned in terms of its stated objectives; if success in high school were actually to be regarded as improvement in health, true fundamentals, home membership, vocational preparation, citizenship, uses of leisure, and ethical character, personnel problems would be possible of solution. But the academic tradition remains in control of marks, promotions, and graduation. No student is recognized as successful in high school *because* he is healthier, *because* he is economically, civically, or domestically more efficient, uses his leisure time in more wholesome ways, and develops good will. He is rewarded by marks, promotions, and graduation *because* he docilely learns his academic lessons in grammar, algebra, and the rest.

The personnel problems of the high school are, therefore, very complex. Students must not only be so guided and motivated that they will grow toward better personal and social adjustments and thus achieve in reasonable degree the stated objectives of secondary education, but they must also be harried and cajoled into conformity with the academic pattern, which really has no positive relation to modern education at all. It is in this last aspect that the problems become most difficult and that failure is most frequent.



Philadelphia Public Schools

TEMPORARY GOAL

Failures in health improvement, social efficiency, uses of leisure, and good will do occur, of course. But such failures are frequently, perhaps generally, due to compensations and antagonisms for lack of success in Latin, science, mathematics, and the rest of the traditional academic hocus-pocus.

Secondary education freed from academic dominations

Conventionally, education is thought of as subject-getting. Success as indicated by promotion and diplomas is based on subject-learning. In conventional practice the curriculum is the end of education, not a means of obtaining objectives. We cannot do the educational job by subject teaching; if it is to be done, a new instrument must be utilized. The most direct attack on the problem of promoting immediate and ultimate goals of education is through the stimulation of the pupils to set up objectives which are for them dynamic and worth while.

From Plato on, education has been defined as a way to a richer life. On paper we are committed to the Seven Cardinal Objectives. They are assuredly worthy objectives, and educational progress should be measured in terms of the degree in which they have been attained. But what measures *do* we actually use? Do we inquire concerning how the student spends his leisure time? Do we care at all about evaluating his ideals? What schools set up standards in "worthy home membership" and apply these to determine how well the curriculum has promoted this cardinal aim?

We give lip service to the Cardinal Objectives, for we everywhere measure a student's progress through high school by the number of Carnegie units he has acquired. It is as though we started from Chicago by automobile for New York and measured our progress toward New York by the distance we had made toward New Orleans. And when we have gone all the distance to New Orleans, then we are in New York! We take public money for the maintenance of schools, promising in return to provide for our students the experiences which will assuredly make them worthy citizens in a democracy; then we measure our production by totally irrelevant measures. We

have only vague faiths to justify our practices: study Latin and your hair will get curly! We dare not apply real criticism to our faith or our practice. We certainly have provided some valuable learning experiences for our students, but when they were promoted it was not because of their real accomplishment but because they had satisfied the other conditions. It is too generally true that we have not yet freed ourselves from the Puritan belief that whatever people enjoy doing is bad for them, and that character is necessarily attained under the stress of punctually completing tasks sufficiently difficult and unpleasant to mortify the flesh.

Professor Simon Patten, in his *New Basis of Civilization* (Chapter I), points out that a "pleasure economy" has largely replaced a "pain economy" which through all the ages our ancestors had been forced to accept. This pleasure economy is the inevitable outcome of the industrial revolution, which has made universal abundance potential, delayed now only by our tardiness in setting up an equitable and rational system of distribution. Nevertheless, the very existence of the present economic chaos, with the dissemination of fear and uncertainty among taxpayers, school administrators, teachers, and students, emphasizes for all intellectually alert persons a need for a far more intelligent and general cooperation among individuals and groups, small and great.¹

The American high school—the institution established "to prepare youths of the commercial and mechanical classes for active living"—reflects the change from a "pain economy" to a "pleasure economy" that characterizes the world of which it is a part. But it lags in the process. It, too, needs a new system of distribution, one that will bring opportunities and successes for all. Its marks, failures, shames, ineligibility rules, deten-

¹ The "present economic chaos" mentioned above was the one current about 1937, when these paragraphs were first written. In revising the text eleven years later, we find that the sentence is still a significant statement, for "fear and uncertainty" are not less today than they were in 1937. Moreover, it seems unlikely that, with a national debt of over three billion dollars, we shall very soon have resolved our economic problems, even with the benefit of such cooperation as we have urged.

tions, suspensions, and other punishments—chiefly connected with its obsolete curriculum—are vestiges of the ancient discredited and repressive social system. Only cloistered academicians, with vested interests in a world of limbo, bewail the “lowering of standards,” meaning the loss of their power to impose on everyone their formal manities.

Estimate of the situation

In military parlance the phrase “estimate of the situation” has a special meaning. The commanding officer of a tactical unit must have a plan of battle. His plan must be a realistic one. It must be based on the most accurate knowledge he can get concerning the strength of the enemy troops opposing him, their morale, their armament, and the tactical advantages they have in the place where combat may take place. He must, of course, know his own resources and advantages. He assembles all this information with the assistance of his staff officers, and they make an estimate of the situation, a careful judgment that will be the basis of a plan for attack or defense.

By analogy, all persons concerned with developing an improved plan for education must make a careful estimate of the situation. It used to be said that God was on the side of the strongest artillery. If this is too cynical an observation to adopt, we might still borrow from the army the tested principle, “Never underestimate the enemy.” Our fumbling and our failures when we launch some phase of a new program in education are often due to the simple fact that we have not taken the trouble to estimate the extent and nature of the resistance that will impede or prevent its success.

Among school administrators it is well known that every time a superintendent or a principal tampers with the report card, one administrator loses his job. Yet the report card is the educational balance sheet, the most important document in all our practice. It is important largely because it represents the most significant point of contact between teachers and parents. If you make a sampling of report cards used in the schools of this country you will have a rather accurate estimate

of the situation. If the schools are still measuring success in percentage grades or in other cryptic symbols that represent estimates of factual learning, then the lion has eaten the lamb and the millennium has not yet arrived.

The tragic aspect of our educational system is that, in so many instances, improvements in educational practice are blocked by the efforts of a small but vigorous and noisy minority. It is not always the same minority. One group will be noisy and resistant when the principal, the faculty, and a large group of parents recommend some basic change in curriculum; another group organizes a filibuster when it is proposed to inaugurate a coordinating agency for the prevention of juvenile delinquency. The tactic also varies. But the fact remains that a relatively few noisy and persistent members of a community are usually successful in preventing changes in educational methods.

This is not a treatise on school administration, and we do not have space enough here to suggest some of the methods that may be adopted to build up and maintain popular support for improvements in educational services. It must be emphasized, however, that every important change will require, sooner or later, the concurrence of the community. What we need, of course, is not blind, unquestioning faith in the ability of schoolmen to work out prescriptions for every cultural and social ill. We need only the degree of freedom that is afforded other professional workers. The men who engineer our water supply may be less than perfect in their practice, yet we expect them to know what must be done to keep the water free from pollution, and we do not organize committees to champion the preservation of the "good old ways" of supplying pure water. The highway commissioners are given a relatively free hand to do their job; they employ experts who plan new roads, engineer the curves and the grades, and use whatever safety factors may prevent accidents and save lives. But the public schools are administered by a staff whose recommendations are often nullified by the activities of a group of laymen with motives no better than those of the beachcombers who objected to the plans for erecting a lighthouse.

Teachers have friends!

There is another side to the picture, of course. We have friends among laymen whose support we count on whenever the going gets rough. We have more friends than we know, and our friends may realize better than we the need for improving educational facilities. As teachers, we have not put a high value on our services. We have taken the figure on the salary check as an index of our social worth. During 1946 and 1947 there was, however, a great drive for higher salaries, more teachers, and better facilities. The national magazines of largest circulation (*Reader's Digest, Ladies' Home Journal, Woman's Home Companion, Collier's, Saturday Evening Post, Life, Newsweek, Time*, and others) gave vigorous support to this movement. Their articles and editorials had incalculable value.

The national magazines, including many not so widely read as those mentioned above, have advocated educational advancement in many other ways besides supporting the drive for increased pay for teachers. They have published a surprisingly large number of articles that deal informatively and realistically with some of the problems that we think of as student guidance problems. They have retained as staff writers some persons well grounded in the newer principles of mental hygiene, of family relationships, of community organization, and of educational purposes and methods. They have published, of course, some articles that are not blanket endorsements for what we may think of as liberal practices in education. But, by and large, one gets the general impression that the editors and publishers of these national magazines are not only well informed about education, including the specifics, but that they are striving to increase the knowledge and interest of their readers in educational problems and development.

If there were complete and accurate figures available, it would be rather surprising, perhaps shocking, to read how many dollars are spent each year to "educate" the public to the advantages of buying Lucky Strikes, Coca-Cola, Pepsodent, or

any of the other products that are nationally promoted through newspaper, magazine, or radio advertising. The National Association of Manufacturers and the American Federation of Labor buy advertising space from time to time to present their claims for support. The Army and the Navy spend generously for advertising space to attract recruits. But the public schools have no sinking fund, no budgeted allowance for advertising, no wealthy sponsor. In fact, the lobbyists and publicity agents supported by state and national organizations of educators are so few and so limited in funds, compared with the paid agents of other organizations, that their influence is negligible.

The improvement of education, and especially of those services which represent the contact of the public schools with the home and with other community agencies, depends on something other than news releases, advertising, or high-pressure lobbying in the corridors. It depends more and more on the support of the patrons of the schools. It depends upon the ability of patrons who know the needs of the schools through their first-hand participation in planning meetings such as those sketched in *Education for All American Youth*.² It depends on familiarity with the day-to-day purposes of the students and teachers. It depends on the willingness of teachers to work overtime, without extra pay, in the programs of community agencies that parallel the school. These same teachers will be asked to Sunday dinners and to Friday dances and to meetings of the Home Bureau and of the American Legion. Each teacher may become a partner in the greatest experiment the community—or the world—has ever undertaken.

Life is like a bicycle

A more adequate study of the individual, and better cooperation among those persons whose knowledge of the pupil and interest in his welfare may promote better understanding of his needs, furnish the background against which guided growth

² Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, and the American Association of School Administrators. Washington, D C National Education Association, 1944 421 pages

can take place. The nature of guidance requires more than study and cooperation, however. Guidance requires motion, motion implies direction. Guidance by its very nature implies that the person who is to be guided be going somewhere.

The first step in guidance is, therefore, motivation. Pupils are encouraged to engage in individual or group undertakings—games, government, painting, music, letter writing, problem solving, club activities, reading, nature study, and the rest. Therein they find one or more forms of accomplishment that they wish to attain, and the setting for guidance is present.

Life is like a bicycle—it is in equilibrium only when it is in motion forward. Under such conditions life, like the bicycle, is readily guided. Thus a student who is striving to attain some recognized objective is the more easily piloted and directed by a friend whose experience and wisdom can aid in attaining that objective.

We live forward, from breath to breath, from heartbeat to heartbeat. We live forward toward the goals we have set for ourselves, some of them near, others remote. Some of these goals we may not have chosen consciously, but they are effective, nevertheless, in determining the direction in which we desire to live. Whoever stands in our way or blocks our realization of these aims has set himself against us, but whoever will help us to do the things we have set out to do, or will help us to do them better, is a friend. Whenever a teacher can discover the worthy things a student wishes to do and can help him in these purposes, then the relation between the teacher and the student is the one on which the most significant accomplishments can be founded.

Bill of rights for adolescents

Although the "Bill of Rights" drawn up by the students of Girls' High School, Decatur, Georgia, has, unfortunately, no official sanction, it serves to point out in general terms what we would cheerfully concede as the rights of all our adolescents, as well as the basic conditions for wholesome development.

The "Teen-Age Bill of Rights" as stated by the girls themselves included the following:

- 1 A happy home where understanding and love are foundations of living
- 2 A strong, healthy body
3. An opportunity to prepare for a career or a vocation.
- 4 Adequate financial support.
- 5 An opportunity to make friends
- 6 Confidence of parents.
7. Knowledge of sex.
- 8 An environment of culture—books, pictures, music.
9. Experience in making and handling money
- 10 Confidence in oneself and respect for oneself.³

If some such list of rights were legally guaranteed to American youths, how many homes and how many schools would find their practices and their organized environment in keeping with the list? If we were to consider the list as a set of functional objectives for the school and home in promoting the positive development of our teen-agers, how many cases would we find now where the rights of the individual youth have been sacrificed in the interests of institutional expediency? Do youths have any rights, in practice, that are more important than the convenience of the teachers or the notions of the parents and other adults who make the rules?

Guidance must be positive

To be a contributing participant in an assembly program, to make the football team, to read a book, to demonstrate a geometry solution, to explain the mechanism of a radio, to present effectively the arguments for a course of action, to compose a convincing editorial, to be accepted into the school orchestra—these and a hundred more objectives offer potential motiva-

³ Bettie Herbert, "Pupil Poll Develops Bill of Rights for Teen Age," *The Clearing House*, Vol 20, No 9 (May, 1946), pages 557-558

tions for youths to strive purposefully and reflectively. Under such conditions the teacher's advice and friendship are welcome.

Objectives must always be positive if guidance is to be acceptable. "Get your algebra lesson or you will fail" typifies purely negative motivation; as such, it does not encourage pupils to seek honest help at the hands of the teacher.

Education is a social process because man is socially conditioned. His likes and dislikes, his searchings and avoidances, his joys and sorrows are so generally socially controlled that effective guidance must also be social. And guidance that is effective is a part of this social process. It is carried on best in the intimate groups and through face-to-face contacts. It is a rare individual who looks to the angels for approval, the approval that is immediately stimulating and the disapproval that humbles a person and brings him into line are expressed by his associates. Morals start in the smaller groups and carry over to wider horizons.

The ideas we have been expressing here, and the essential ideas in all the pages to follow, are elaborations of the principles of guidance set up as the basic theses for this book. As they are stated below, they appear innocent enough, they will be too readily accepted, perhaps, by many schoolmen who may read them without perceiving their revolutionary nature. In developing these principles, however, we shall not try to conceal any part of the revolutionary changes that they entail. We shall try to point out the implications of these theses and to make these implications clear; for no person is won over to our side until he appreciates fully the precise nature of the obligations every teacher will assume wherever these principles of guidance are made operative. An administrator who is personally convinced of the validity of these principles must restrain any impulse to order changes in the school practice unless he is satisfied that the whole faculty, so far as that is possible, desire the changes and understand fully what they represent.

Twelve principles of guidance

1. Guidance consists in helping pupils to set up objectives that are for them dynamic, reasonable, and worth while, and in helping them, so far as possible, to attain these objectives.
2. The major fields in which guidance is necessary are health, vocation, avocation, education, and human relations.
3. The idea of guidance is inherent in all efforts to educate.
4. The kind and amount of guidance needed varies greatly with different children and in different situations and at different times.
5. The need for guidance is particularly acute today because of
 - a. Increased complexity of our social organization.
 - b. Rapidity of change in our social organization.
 - c. The changing character of sanctions as determined by:
 - (1) The home
 - (2) The community.
 - (3) The church.
 - d. The industrial situation
 - e. The economic situation.
 - f. The demands of life in a modern democracy.
6. This new concept of guidance is largely a result of democratic tendencies in educational administration. The proper development of a guidance program is dependent on these same tendencies.
7. The major work of guidance must be done by classroom and home room teachers.
8. The work of the guidance specialist is
 - a. To stimulate, guide, and check the guidance activities of teachers
 - b. To give specialized expert help where necessary
9. A research and measurement program is an essential part of successful guidance work.
10. An adequate, accessible, and flexible system of records is necessary for good guidance work.
11. The proper adaptation of curriculum and method to the

needs of individual pupils is best promoted through guidance activities of teachers working in a democratically organized school system.

- 12 Provision for and promotion of guidance activities is a major responsibility of administrative officers.

CHAPTER TWO

Biological Inheritances as Factors in Guidance

SO LONG have teachers taught subjects, inculcated habits, tested skills, and listened to the recitations of information gained from textbooks, that to very many professionally unenlightened schoolkeepers these activities have seemed to comprise all of education. Such procedures have required that pupils learn lessons, perform set tasks, practice obedience. These have been the "school virtues": they are the counterpart of superimposed, unreasoned, and arbitrary authority.

Guidance aims first to promote mental health

In loco parentis has been the phrase by which this authority has been justified. But the patriarchal authority that the school has imitated has pretty well disappeared, at least in the homes of American children of the middle and higher school grades. In a few families of rural or European origin parents sometimes attempt arbitrary and unreasoned control, but they usually succeed in alienating their children from them and unfitting these children for a world that demands self-direction.

Indeed, it is now recognized that the unintelligent treatment of very young children by parents and nurses results in mental and emotional maladjustments that, if not overcome, affect adversely their efficiency and usefulness throughout life. Infantilism, parental fixations, Oedipus complexes are terms used by psychiatrists and psychologists in attempting to explain the lack of initiative, homesickness, marital unhappiness, and other overt symptoms of this maladjustment. If children do not be-

come dependent on the commands and decisions of arbitrary parents, or the coddling of oversolicitous ones, they may develop the equally undesirable attitudes of antagonism, rebellion, and even contempt for their parents.

It is a reasonably safe guess that the children of ten years of age and above who have the greatest adaptability and self-reliance, who are well balanced mentally and emotionally, either have had remarkably intelligent parents, or else by neglect or poverty have been freed from parental bungling. Bringing up children demands resourcefulness and constant reflection, but children frequently bring themselves up quite satisfactorily if adults do not interfere.

Most child-trainers hold the opposite view. They say that children, given sound biological inheritances, will most readily achieve the capacities necessary to meet the complexities of life if they are brought up in a controlled environment so that they develop the right habits, attitudes, and knowledges. There is a certain share of truth in this view, maintained by Freudians, Behaviorists, and others. But it is a view that involves the fundamental fallacy of the Herbartians; it premises a passive child, a bundle of reacting mechanisms. It recommends controlling the situation by doing something to or for the child and guiding his responses to each new situation. The parents and the teachers are to work out the processes by which the child is molded and remolded. The child can scarcely be said to make his own adaptations in any positive sense. He is only expected to react in accordance with his biological inheritance and his previous learnings, so acquiring new patterns of behavior, new bonds, new responses.

The authors of this book hold the view that such training is of value for the very young child, and of occasional value for the older one. But in all that we shall write here we shall place the emphasis on *active* adaptation—the pupil must make his own adjustments, must *create* a personality for himself. He cannot do so by being “reconditioned” or being trained as a dog is trained. Psychoanalysis is not a part of an active program of personality building, nor is formal discipline. In the

system we propose, parents and teachers will not need to concern themselves with detailed responses, except in the case of children who are already maladjusted. They will, instead, encourage their children to live life vigorously and actively. They will shield their children from the obviously vicious, but they will not remove them from the struggles, disappointments, discoveries, and conquests which give a glow to life. Only by such a system can children grow personalities of their own.

Who is "normal"?

The natures and the social and intellectual adjustments of the pupils with whom teachers are associated present the raw materials of the guidance program in the school. The public school is comprehensive in the scope of its services to all normal boys and girls of the community. Otherwise it is not worthy of public support through universal taxation. But who are "normal boys and girls"?

As it is used here, "normal" includes all who are not so radically abnormal or subnormal that they cannot associate in classes with children of their own ages.

Confusion has increased among teachers and educational theorists concerning the function of public education because of the introduction of the terms "norm" and "normal" as they are used by statisticians and psychologists—concepts that bear little relation to the purposes of the school as set forth in state laws and in the democratic philosophy of education generally accepted by social leaders. From statistical science has come the conception of a "normal distribution" of human beings according to various scales or measures. Thus people in general may be found to vary in height or weight or abstract intelligence or some other trait so as to distribute themselves along a base line representing inches or pounds or scores. When the data on a large number of cases is analyzed, it is usually found that relatively few persons have the trait measured in a superlative amount, few have it in relatively small quantities, while the great bulk of all those measured have it in an amount not very different from the amount characteristic of the "average,"

or "median," person. The statistician defines as normal those who have about the amount of the trait that this median person has. He would define as supernormal or as subnormal those who have much more of it or much less of it than this median person has.

One complex of traits which the statistical psychologists have been interested in measuring is abstract or verbal intelligence, often carelessly referred to as "general" intelligence. When the tests employed have been scored and the data tabulated, the intelligence of the median person measured (that is, the person who has the middle score, with an equal number of persons scoring above and below him) is said to be "normal."¹ Consider the "median" youth among those who are fourteen years old. The score that he makes is decided upon as the "normal" score for all persons who are the same age. The Intelligence Quotient is the figure that represents the "mental age" divided by the chronological age. Assuming that our fourteen-year-old has a mental age (written M.A.) of 168 months, we divide that figure by his chronological age (C.A.), which is also 168 months, to obtain a quotient of 1.00. The decimal point is usually written but not read, so we say that our "normal" person has an Intelligence Quotient (I.Q.) of one hundred.

In other cases the ratio of the chronological age to the mental age will produce quotients of more than 100 or less than 100; or, as it would be spoken of by all familiar with this system of comparison, of more than 100 or less than 100. It has been decided by the statistical psychologists that all who have an Intelligence Quotient of 110 or higher are supernormal, while those whose I.Q. is 90 or less are of subnormal intelligence.

It will be seen at once that almost every step of the process by

¹ The comparison must have been made, of course, among persons of the same chronological age. However, in determining most of the norms now in use, the statisticians have arbitrarily decided that the normal person has attained full adult intelligence before sixteen. A man of thirty-two years of age discovered to have a "mental age" of sixteen would be classed not as half-witted, but as of normal intelligence. The use of these arbitrary classifications has led to great confusion where laymen, or even educators inadequately informed, have attempted to employ the results of tests standardized on this principle.

which this concept of normality evolved is based upon gross assumptions and arbitrary decisions. Nobody has a right to use intelligence tests or figures derived from their use unless he is fully aware of these factors and makes the necessary allowance for them. It is not the statisticians who are at fault, nor even the measures they have used, it is the number of persons, both lay and professional, who have been overzealous in their claims for the new scientific measures and have allowed themselves to misconstrue the meanings of the terms employed. A normal person is defined by the courts, without reference to the statistical measures of intelligence, as one who is able to take care of himself and will not become a charge upon society. Such a concept of normality is the one that must be applied in the public high school. Ability to learn abstractions, or the lack of it, does not always coincide with ability to take care of one's self.

Physiology as an element in personality development

Not so long ago it would have been possible to write about the educational process in terms of intellectual activities and let it go at that. But we have acquired so much information about the raw material and the process that the phrase "the whole child" carries a heavy load. To understand the learning process we need to consider not only overt behavior but visceral behavior as well, not only what the individual does but also the chemical changes that take place within him as an aspect of almost every response. We shall, therefore, carry on our discussion of normality, presenting a consideration of some of these physiological factors.

From the viewpoint of the youth himself, his adjustments are primarily physical. Adolescence is the period of growing up. The boy becomes a young man during a period of five or six years. The little girl becomes a woman. Puberty is accompanied by many rather obvious phenomena such as rapid increases in height and weight, changes in facial contour, a physical gawkiness due to uneven growth of bones, tendons, and muscles, and the development of primary sex organs and sec-

ondary sex characteristics. There are important changes in the child's circulation; increased blood pressure puts a severe strain upon the heart to perform its added duties. There is the change in pitch and quality of the voice, more marked in boys than in girls. Adjustment must be made to all these changes.

These developmental characteristics must be thought of in the light of the increasing sex consciousness, sex interests, and sex suppressions that evolve from the interactions of the child's nature and the social mores and taboos. The social awareness that accompanies the maturation is partly a result and partly a cause of the child's identification of himself with adulthood.

Growth and sexual maturity are phenomena that are too frequently taken as a matter of course by parents and teachers. For a time some psychologists tended, perhaps, to make extravagant statements regarding the changes accompanying puberty. More recently there has been a tendency on the part of many psychologists to belittle the saltatory theory, namely, that the onset of adolescence is more or less sudden and is accompanied by definite and important changes in rate of growth and in mental and emotional characteristics. Thorndike and his colleagues have shown that in the development of many measurable traits there is no appreciable change in rate of development at the time of puberty. At the present time, however, the pendulum seems to be swinging back to an appreciation that adolescence is educationally a most significant period of life.

Biological inheritance furnishes the fundamental significant postulates of education

Whatever the statistical and meticulous scientists may show as to the times of original appearance of sex characteristics, the fact remains that the adult is significantly different from the child and that the complex period when the adult emerges from the child is pretty well localized at puberty and early adolescence.

The fundamental causes of these marked changes are natural. They are controlled by elements that are integral parts of the

individual's biological inheritance. Whether the individual will be tall or short, fat or lean, is relatively little affected by food, or home, or care, or any other aspect of environment—assuming in all cases that sickness or starvation is avoided.

The human body is made up of thousands of billions of individual cells, each one of which is born, lives, breathes, feeds, excretes, reproduces, dies, and is succeeded by its offspring. Each of these individuals harmonizes with its own inner life some special function for the benefit of the whole, and is destined ultimately for an individual death.

Day-long, night-long, in this commonwealth that constitutes each one of us, there goes forward as in the body politic the subservience of many individual purposes to one, the sacrifice of individual lives for the advantage of the many, and the birth of new units which replace the dead. . . . And each of these living commonwealths began its individual existence as a single unit, whence arose the myriads that compose its adult being There come thus to co-exist the lime-hardened tissues of our bones, the contractile cells of our muscles, the conductive cells of our nerves, and so forth ²

Obviously there must be some plan by which these many congeries of communities of cells can develop and function for the welfare of the human being of which they are a part. Somehow or other without conscious effort or awareness these communities are stirred into action in response to some stimulus, and so food digests, hearts beat, lungs breathe, sex organs mature and function, and wounds heal. In response to special demands one set of cells or another multiplies more rapidly or functions more actively than usual and after awhile returns to its normal rate.

How complicatedly and independently of conscious control our bodily functions carry on may be better appreciated if a brief description is given of the behavior of the blood under the conditions of everyday life. The blood is forced from the left

² G. S. Sherrington, *The Integrative Action of the Nervous System*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pages 67-68. Reprinted in William H. Burnham, *The Normal Mind*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1934, page 29.

ventricle of the heart through the elastic-muscled arteries to all parts of the body. The spurt from the successive heartbeats merges into a steady pressure that causes the blood to move through the arterioles, capillaries, and back through the venules and veins to the right auricle of the heart. This venous blue blood is pumped from the right ventricle to the lungs, where it is oxygenated in the capillaries and returned to the left auricle of the heart as bright red blood. This remarkable process is naturally taken for granted, and for most of us it holds no challenge for investigation or speculation, but it illustrates adequately the almost unbelievable divorce of bodily functioning from our conscious control.

During periods of complete relaxation, the circulatory system of a healthy individual is almost, if not quite, automatic. The heartbeats are due to the inherent power of rhythmic contraction of the heart muscles. The muscles of the arteries and arterioles respond to the pulsations of blood pumped through them. In the thin-walled capillaries oxygen and serum, organic compounds dissolved in water, leak out into the surrounding tissues; and other substances, including sugars, proteins, iron salts, secretions of one sort or another, and wastes from the muscles containing carbonic acid leak in by the process called osmosis. This great carrier system, distributing energy and energizers, and collecting and getting rid of wastes and poisons, seems, in the state of health and relaxation, to be all but mechanical. Response and redirection of flow are chemical: if sugar is lacking, the blood is enriched from the liver by some process not yet fully understood.

Nerve control there is, to be sure, and it is important and complicated. Exercise, thinking, emotional maladjustment, pain, and joy all affect the circulation. But it is almost conceivable that the body in health and rest could be nourished and cleansed without regard to the complicated nervous structure.

In the blood stream are red and white corpuscles. Each of these corpuscles is a single cell, at least in origin. The red corpuscles are circular discs that cannot actively change their

shape or multiply, they contain hemoglobin, which combines readily with oxygen, forming oxyhemoglobin (carmine colored), which is distributed throughout the body. The white corpuscles or leucocytes, however, are individual, living, amoeba-like animals. They originate chiefly in the bone marrow and flow through the body in the blood stream. They have, however, the power of independent locomotion; they move about in the amoeboid manner by putting out pseudopodia. They may even squeeze through the apparently complete wall of the capillaries to pursue germs or other foreign bodies that they devour. In the presence of "enemy" bacteria, for example, typhoid fever germs, or those in an infected wound, the leucocytes increase very rapidly in number, and the spleen and lymph glands may increase in size in performing the added service. The rate of production returns to normal, however, when the attack has been overcome. It is of special importance to recognize that this call to arms and this demobilization are chemical processes. They take place in healthy persons automatically and without nervous control.

Both white and red blood corpuscles are carried along in a remarkably mutable and unstable fluid, it may indeed be said to be alive quite apart from the living red and white blood cells that it contains. It is, on the whole, constant in composition (the proportion of water and of the many salts it contains), and it has the ability to keep itself constant under normal conditions by adding from its storehouses in case of deficiency and giving up its surpluses of carbonic acid, urea, and sugar to its storehouses or to the excretory organs. Nevertheless, it can change its composition and structure radically in case of injury or invasion by germs or poisons.

The chemistry of the blood fluid is endlessly complex; it is indeed unique in individuals, as personal and peculiar to each one as his facial features. Fundamentally it is composed of water in which are dissolved three gases—nitrogen, oxygen, and carbonic acid—and peculiar proteins—serum albumen, and serum globulin—which it distributes to the tissues of the body,

and sodium chloride which keeps these albumens from coagulating. Quite as important is the fibrinogen that forms fibrin and causes the blood to clot in case hemorrhages occur.

Fibrinogen turns to fibrin when a capillary is torn, by action of a ferment in the blood, called thrombin. But thrombin itself does not exist as such until the injury has occurred, until that time it is a chemical substance called prothrombin. When an injury occurs, this prothrombin changes to thrombin, which converts the fibrinogen to fibrin, which is sticky and which ensnares the red and white corpuscles and blood plates to form the clot that eventually closes the breach in the blood vessel, while the leucocytes and fibrin build up new tissue and mend the torn vessel.

Complex as this statement shows the blood fluid to be, it is little more than an introduction to a more exact description for which space is lacking. Such a description would explain the presence and functions of the many hormones or autacoids, secreted generally by ductless glands, which enter the blood stream and affect one or several of the bodily organs and functions for specific purposes. It would have to explain the opsonin, or "cookers," that render microbes edible by phagocytic leucocytes. And it would have to explain the antitoxins and immunity agents that render some individuals resistant to specific diseases.

Bodily functions are normal only when voluntary nervous controls are quiescent

If the reader can get an adequate conception of the complex processes that take place automatically, quite apart from voluntary control, in this one illustration of the blood, and if he can grasp their significance, as illustrations of what takes place automatically in all our tissues, to a greater or less extent, he will gain what is fundamental to an appreciation of the delicacy and evasiveness of human adjustment.

This complex interrelationship of automatic functions takes place adequately only when the nervous controls are quiescent. Let any extreme emotional state intervene, or let any unwonted physical activity take place, or let any disease interfere with

physical harmony, and the complex chemical controls are immediately further complicated by primary and secondary nervous controls and results

Thus, through nervous reactions accompanying every incident of the body and of the environment, the muscles of the arteries and arterioles may be controlled, the capillaries may be flooded or drained of blood, and the glands may be stimulated to send into the blood stream increased quantities of specific hormones and thus change the character of the blood and significantly affect bodily and mental health

In the case of fear, for example, the emotional state is immediately accompanied by a bodily state. The blood leaves the capillaries of the skin, the arteries contract, blood pressure rises, the heart beats faster, digestion stops. Hormones enter the blood stream from the suprarenal glands; sugar enters the blood from the liver, the muscles receive unusual quantities of sugar-enriched blood. Then one can run faster or strike harder than when he feels no fear

Equally astonishing changes take place in anger, embarrassment, lust, and in other emotional states. It is quite within truth to say of a person in any extreme emotional state, "He is not himself" Chemically, he is a different person.

The complexity of human biological life must be appreciated

This description of the independent "life" of the blood and its relations to the nervous organization of the body serves merely as an example to illustrate how endlessly complicated and subtle are human adjustments. A description of human musculature, of the growth and repair and supplementary functions of the bones, of the heart's action and compensations, or of the digestive system would have served as well.

The problems involved in the guidance of youth are fundamentally affected by the complexity of the human body and of the mental and emotional lives that are all factors in determining personality. As these matters are better appreciated, even though they are not thoroughly understood, teachers will less frequently be arbitrary in judging students' behavior. They

will, instead, attempt to control home and school environments positively so as to eliminate or counteract the conditions that might tend to impair personality integration.

Complex of factors, both biological and environmental, affects early adolescence

Such modifications of attitudes and procedures are peculiarly important during the period of rapid growth and of change in organic structure and function that accompanies puberty and adolescence. The control of this rapid growth and of special functioning is largely vested in the endocrine or ductless glands. These glands secrete hormones that enter the blood stream and stimulate into activity the communities of cells or organs that the particular hormones affect.

Thus the thyroid gland secretes a hormone, thyroxin, which has an important relation to metabolism, the digestion and assimilation of food. If the thyroid gland functions properly, the individual's nutritive processes are normal, if the thyroid does not function properly, if it is too active or not sufficiently active, the harmony of these processes is upset. Sugar tolerance may increase. Lumps may form on the skin; sluggishness and lethargy may increase. If the amount of the autacoid, thyroxin, can be regulated, the symptoms disappear.

The primary physical and mental changes that take place at adolescence are chiefly due to the activity of hormones secreted by the cells of Leydig, the so-called interstitial cells, in the gonads (testes and ovaries). But other glands have important parts to play in this phenomenon as well. If the thyroid functions abnormally, causing the disease myxedema, the characteristic development of adolescence does not take place. The same failure of normal adolescent development happens if the pituitary gland or the pineal gland or the suprarenal glands do not function as they should.

The thymus gland, found in the neck below the larynx, retards the development of the sexual organs of young children. In boys, it atrophies and practically disappears at adolescence. If it does not so atrophy, the boy is effeminate and has the high

voice and characteristics of girls and little children. It is less directly connected with the sex organs of girls, while the thyroid gland is more closely related to sex functions of girls than of boys.

Nothing in the physical and mental history of a human being is more interesting than the extraordinary chemical changes going on in the body at puberty, with their attendant results of internal and external changes in the body and profound changes in the emotional aspect of the brain. What is happening at puberty is really revolutionary. A pair of glands which have remained relatively quiescent are suddenly awakened—by exactly what means no one knows—and go through a process of cellular proliferation. In the female there is a more or less rapid growth in size of ovaries, uterus, and mammary glands, with a broadening of the abdominal cavity, the appearance of pubic and axillary hair. Eventually, the maturing and ripening of egg-cells begin, and finally the lining of the uterus engorges and breaks down for the first time in a menstrual period. Outwardly and inwardly the child is becoming a woman. In the male, certain tissue in the central portions of the sex glands becomes active and starts the secretion of seminal fluid, the medium in which the developing spermatozoa are to live. As in the case of the female, secondary sexual characteristics appear, with a gradual thickening of the vocal cords and, later, the growth of hair on the face. Changes of physical structure are not so marked in the male as in the female, but the internal chemical stimulation is probably more stimulating and exciting to the boy than to the girl in the early phases of puberty. What has happened, for both, is the addition of new chemical stimulation to the blood, which has a special effect upon the entire system of internally secreting glands—pituitary, thymus, thyroid, adrenals, and others—as well as upon the emotional centers of the brain. Certain glandular activities must be lessened in strength, while others are increased. There is a heightened stimulation of the nervous system, with marked changes of rhythm, moods of tension and activity followed by moods of relative lethargy, all very disturbing to the routine of everyday life.³

³ Frederick Pierce, *Understanding Our Children* New York E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1926, page 151

It would be interesting to continue this explanation of the remarkable interrelation of sex organs, blood supply, metabolism, growth, voice, and the many other characteristics of adolescent boys and girls, and of the mysterious control kept over them by the functioning of the endocrine glands. Enough has been said, however, to emphasize the complex nature of the organism that must be brought under control if it is to function smoothly and harmoniously—that is, if it is to be integrated effectively into what we know as a wholesome personality.

In the broader sense of the term, integrated personality refers to the complex of habits, attitudes, feelings, and bodily states that govern behavior. It is the coördination of all these inter-related controls, a coordination that is achieved only under favorable conditions and that is made more difficult during the period of emotional and physiological stress that commonly accompanies adolescence.

This chapter has sketched some of the characteristics of the raw material, the natural inheritance of physiological or biological capacities, out of which each individual will build himself a personality. In the next chapter we shall discuss the more subjective aspects of behavior and the conditions that promote the achievement of a positive personality.

Guidance for Integrated Personality and Ethical Character

THE PERSONALITY development of students is accomplished by a complex process in which the school, obviously, has only a share. But the part of a child's life that he spends in school may be the determining part, and in every case the school must order its affairs so that it will be of the greatest possible help. In view of the biological complexities outlined in the preceding chapter, one might reasonably suppose that the school will need to set up an equally complicated system to assure such help. The opposite is true. The plan the school should follow is simple, dangerously simple. In essence, it is providing a program of friendly, mildly stimulating activities wherein each pupil will find himself frequently successful and generally near enough to some larger success to entitle him to believe that tomorrow or the next day he will surely win the coveted satisfaction.

The dynamics of personality are closely related to the physiological factors sketched in the preceding chapter. Many of these relations we have come to know intuitively: fat men we expect to be good-humored and sociable, thin women we expect to find carping and cynical. There are so many exceptions to our rule that it is very nearly disproved. But there is more than an element of truth in the generalization implied in our conventional way of classifying the persons we meet, for fat persons are of a class in which a certain endocrine gland or combination of glands tends to dominate, thin persons are of another glandular dominance. Inasmuch as one's predisposi-

tions are in part due to this dominance, one's temperament may be inferred from his silhouette

The chemistry of the soul

Berman, discussing the relation of the glands to personality, epitomized this relation in the phrase, "the chemistry of the soul." The glandular endowment of an individual was not considered as a part of "intelligence" by the experimenter who developed the tests now widely used to measure intellectual power. Now, however, we have enough information on the subject to make it clear that any estimate of the capacity of an individual must provide some index of the quality and stability of his endocrine adjustments. It may take a century, or it may take less, but it is likely that scientists will some day develop methods to classify pupils objectively according to their glandular endowment and to promote the proper balance and stability of the pupils whose glands are significantly out of balance.

Our present practice, lacking any such refined controls, can at least recognize the measure in which one's social conduct is biased by emotional impulses rather than by knowledge or reason. The education we offer for social control is too largely premised on the assumption that conduct is intellectualized; our techniques are effective only for the relatively few who have such perfect emotional balance that they are not impelled to some course of action without weighing the social consequences. As we become more consistently aware of the chemical aspects of conduct, or the profound influence of glandular hormones inducing emotional predispositions, we shall begin, intuitively at first perhaps, to work out educational controls more adequate than preachments and moralizing. We shall always need to allow ourselves a fair margin of cases that are of such an extreme nature as to warrant medical or surgical treatment before educational treatment can be applied.¹

Bruce and Freeman emphasize the conservative viewpoint

¹ Louis Berman, M.D., *The Glands Regulating Personality* Garden City Garden City Publishing Company, 1921, page 21

with regard to the influence of the ductless glands except in cases where development and behavior are abnormal. They state.

. It is not to be assumed that the many phenomena of adolescent development and behavior are to be understood and solved by an appeal to the findings of endocrinology. While it is true that excessive or deficient secretions of the ovaries, testes, adrenals, pituitary, thyroid, or other glands disturb the process of development, there is no warrant for ascribing to the ductless glands the many variations in human growth, behavior, and personality, as some enthusiasts, notably medical men, do. It is now accepted that the chemistry of the body—due to glandular activity—plays a part in the general determination of *temperament*, and that serious glandular dysfunctions are accompanied by characteristic body traits. But it has not been demonstrated that there is a definite or typical relationship between chemical states and personality in the great mass of people regarded as normal. In fact, a survey of publications dealing with endocrine functions in relation to personality shows that, normally, endocrine glands serve to maintain equilibrium of the body functions and that in themselves they do not produce differences in personality.²

Personality is organic

It will not do to consider personality as something entirely subject to external controls. As we use the word "personality" it permits of no robot subjection. It is founded on the individuality of the person considered, that is to say on all the qualities, actual and potential, which make him in some way different from the people about him. To look at the matter from the intimate point of view of this individual, his personality is the role he has selected to play. It is his own interpretation of himself to others. Therefore, it is decidedly social, it requires an audience; and it is in greater or less degree subjective.

The child becomes aware of *self* by all the factors that em-

² William F. Bruce and Frank S. Freeman, *Development and Learning* New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1942, page 197

phasize for him his entity, his separate being. He becomes aware of this *self* principally by reason of his needs, and these needs are satisfied or not in a social environment. The infant feels pangs of hunger and cries as his natural expression of his need for food, and this need is gratified by his mother, who nurses him or provides him a bottle. As the child grows older, his desires become more numerous, and he looks to other persons besides his mother for the satisfaction of these needs. Some of his desires are not quickly satisfied by these others, and he experiments with various methods to discover, intuitively, of course, which methods are most effective in getting for him what he wants. He acts coyly and coaxes for an apple. He begs and pleads. He cries and puts on a tantrum. He sulks and pouts. He whines. Some of the methods, proving effective, become his habitual way of getting what he wants if it can be had.

Such experimenting provides for each individual not only some satisfaction for his immediate needs, real or fancied, but also serves to define for him the extent and limitations of his personal resources (the *self* he is becoming better aware of) as well as the extent and limitations of his environment. In his environment, the social element is the one that varies most and the one most difficult to control or to adjust to. The child's father, for example, may not respond to the same kind of wheedling that is effective with the mother. Or on one occasion the father is kindly, affectionate, and indulgent, while on another he is harsh and forbidding. The child himself is a variable in the social equation, for he also experiences these differences in temperament. However, out of thousands of social experiences there evolves a central core of habits, a social pattern, a general mode of behavior that is characteristic of the child, that differentiates him from other children. This complexus of habits is the outward expression of the individual's desires. It is this constellation of habits, or traits, that we recognize as personality.

Arthur Dean brings out forcefully the function of guidance

in the determination of the personality pattern a child may choose as the result of his social experiment:

Does anyone really know Jimmy? To be sure we know what he looks like—a familiar figure of ten, with rumpled stockings, tousled hair, hands and face that aren't exactly immaculate, and a grin for everyone he likes. But what about the real Jimmy? Not so easy to spot, is he? The trouble is, there seems to be a lot of Jimmies enrolled under one name. In short, Jimmy is a quintuple—or so—personality.

For instance, there's the Jimmy that appears when he has to be with a group of sedate adults, a well-mannered little gentleman who speaks when he is spoken to and remains quiet and unobtrusive the rest of the time.

Contrast him with the Jimmy that plays with the gang out in the back yard, a happy, scrappy, noisy and boisterous Jimmy, charged with energy, full of activity and far removed from a model of behavior.

Then there's the Jimmy that visits his grandmother, a subdued cherub who has his mind's eye firmly fixed on a large piece of cake out in the pantry. And there's the Jimmy with the small girls, a fresh little imp, who thinks they exist only to be teased.

There's the Jimmy that goes with his father, a genial good sport who tries hard to be a man, admires everything his father does and wants to be just like him. But the Jimmy that his mother sees is far less grown up. He's still regarded as a small boy who runs to her with his troubles, and depends on her to help straighten them out. One who absorbs her motherly sympathy and still likes to be petted and babied a bit.

And the Jimmies at school, lots of them. There's the Jimmy out at recess, somewhat resembling the back-yard Jimmy, and there's the Jimmy in the classroom, who doesn't like to study and finds it hard to remember history and geography, gets along better in arithmetic, but revels in manual training. There's the rebellious, resentful, and mischievous Jimmy under one teacher, and the decent, likable, and quite well-behaved Jimmy under another.

There's the Jimmy that plays with the older boys, an obedient little servant who tags them around and tries to imitate their superior ways, and there is the Jimmy with the younger boys, pretty decent

to them, but still with a tendency to swagger around and lord it over them, just as the older boys do over him

Jimmies to the right of us, Jimmies to the left of us, a veritable brigade of Jimmies, and no two alike. And yet, buried down here somewhere, is the real Jimmy. He is pretty hard to find among so many. In fact, he probably hasn't shown himself at all. At ten, he is only a shadowy possibility, but when he does appear at a more mature time a lot of these potential Jimmies will go into his make-up.

What we must do is to help Jimmy pick out the right Jimmy. We will have to discover as many of these potential personalities as we can, encourage the good ones, and try to root out the bad ones, and then when the real Jimmy finally emerges from this maze of possibilities we can surely count on something worth while.³

To be sure, Jimmy will not have complete freedom in choosing a personality pattern, for the pattern is determined in part by endocrine predispositions (glands in operation) and in part by the dominant characteristics of one's environment. But there remain some alternatives from which a choice is made, subjectively though unconsciously. The choice is automatic, a part of the process of growing up, and does not wait for instruction or advice from outside. The choice is at first tentative in nature and tends to become confirmed only through successful practice; the personality pattern may be altered unconsciously to meet new demands, and it is even subject to conscious control when the individual is aided sympathetically to see the faults in the adopted pattern and the means of changing to a better one. This fact is of paramount importance in psychiatry and of much importance in the guidance practice of successful teachers.

Personality is the organizing of the mental life of the individual into a compound pattern made up of his powers of thinking, feeling, and doing. Just as a picture has its artistic value not through color, form, or pattern but through the organization of these qualities so that something new and beautiful is added to the world, so personality is not the sum total of feeling, intelligence, and act but is a function of the interaction of these phases of mentality. Thus

the types of personality become almost infinite as we combine the many grades and specialities of emotion, intelligence, will, and act. For example, the whole personality may be centered in a successful drive around some point of superiority, such as a special beauty, agility, strength, or intellectual capacity, just as it may be wrecked around some point of inferiority, some excessive feeling, aberrant instinct, or focal failure of inhibition.⁴

The high school, through all of its guidance instruments, will endeavor to discover or confirm in each student some "point of superiority" and will provide opportunities for its employment in socially desirable ways. Practice in the use of the superior quality, encouraged by social approval, tends to promote integration at successively higher levels.

The integrated personality

Personal efficiency in matters of immediate attention is conditioned by the power of the individual to bring his resources into focus on a task long enough to complete it. Ours is a simian world, as Clarence Day has demonstrated, and most of us are as fickle in our purposes and as easily distracted from the business at hand as monkeys are. This is more particularly true in a world so full of purposes that it is hard to choose which ones to follow, and so full of distractions that it is hard to finish anything.

Personality integration is the purposeful coordination of all one's mental and emotional resources. It is accomplished at various levels: The most elemental degree of integration may serve to bring about the completion of one simple purpose, one task, the solution of one problem. A higher degree of integration enables the individual to work successfully at larger tasks, which can be accomplished because he has the power to leave his work and return to it after an interval without losing the thread of interest and purpose.

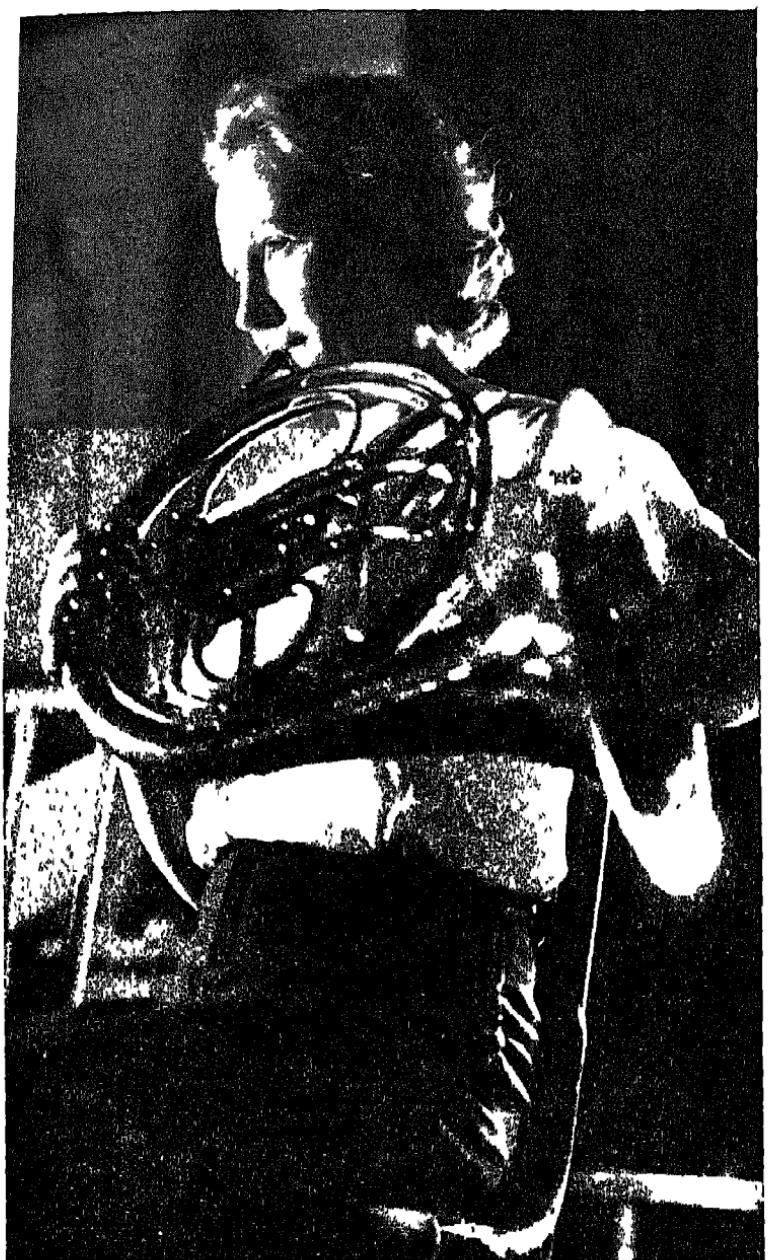
Integration on the higher levels is that which results when one has achieved the harmony of purposes and plans that makes

⁴ Abraham Myerson, "The Pattern of Personality," *Survey Graphic*, Vol. XIX, No. 1 (April, 1931), page 22.

his life all of a piece. Having selected a purpose, or a group of related purposes, worthy of a whole life's efforts, he hews to the line and is not easily dissuaded from his purpose. If it is actually a worthy one, tested by the long view, his ultimate accomplishment toward the chosen objective must be of more significance socially than effort spent on scattered purposes could have been; but aside from that, his work from day to day will be more gratifying, more dignified, and more conducive to that inner serenity which is the antithesis of nervous breakdown, derangement, or dementia. The integrated personality is like a kaleidoscope in bringing the elements of life together into a pleasing, harmonious, and orderly pattern.

The integrated personality is in another sense like a kaleidoscope: an infinite number of patterns is possible, and one pattern changes into another according to the "situation," the *Gestalt*. A man who is usually very mild and agreeable at his work in the office or the factory may on occasion be so forceful and positive in expressing himself that he appears to have changed into someone else. The more sensitive, the more imaginative, the more versatile he is, the more readily he senses the demands of a new situation and adapts his manner, his habits, his conduct to these demands. Only the complete extrovert goes through one situation after another unchanged, unadapted, insensitive to the difference in the people he meets and what they must expect of him, insensitive to the temper of the occasion or the atmosphere of the place.

Personality is kaleidoscopic, but the human personality is more variable, even, than the kaleidoscope, for it is organic, it grows in complexity and variety of color and design as a kaleidoscope, with fixed elements, cannot grow or change. It is likely that the inherent capacity to attain the more enriched forms of personality integration varies among individuals, but it is certain that such development is related also to the nature and extent of experience. An enriched environment is not necessarily one of material luxuries, but, where personality is an instrument for social effectiveness, it is cultivated best in an



INTEGRATION IN C SHARP

environment which is enriched socially. Such enrichment is not merely a matter of the number of persons one meets or to whom one becomes adjusted; it is rather the quality of those people, where quality is gauged by intellectual, spiritual, and social resources. In personality development the factor of imitation is undeniably a strong one. One does not design for himself a wholly original pattern, but one looks for a model, and when he finds no person he wishes to resemble in every regard, he copies as well as he can the attributes he admires in various associates.

Like father, like son—the old adage asserts the frequency of instances where the boy has evinced his admiration for his father by copying many of his traits. The influence of teachers is also noticeable, is always a factor where the teacher is esteemed by his students. It is especially potent when the student is at the stage, more or less universally characteristic of adolescence in our culture, of rejecting the authority (and the influence) of the parents and establishing what he fancies is his independence. In reality, he transfers a part of his loyalty and esteem to persons outside of his own family who are friendly to him and appear to have the attributes that he admires and wishes to copy. Obviously, then, some part of the teacher's participation in guidance for personality development is both automatic and inescapable. The high school assures some measure of positive influence when teachers are assigned who have attributes that are worth imitating.

Effective psychiatry is effective guidance

"What is called our 'educational system' has never been occupied with the personality of pupils except as it could *not attend* being interested. Our schools are designed to furnish with assorted 'facts' that space commonly known as 'from the ears up'. . . . If anyone wants to know how successful this process has been in developing *social human beings*, he has only to add the cost of two wars and one depression, the cost of maintaining all the cases of functional insanity in hospitals, the cost of other similar socially crippling factors."

With these words Willard Beecher begins an illuminating article⁵ that points out how our worst failures in education center about our failure to solve the problems of living together as social animals in mutually profitable relationships. Beecher believes that the schools are ineffectual in averting personality disorders among their students, and further, that teachers will get little help in this matter from the study of psychiatry:

Psychiatry, as now developed, has little to offer the educator or teacher for it, too, is conceived on a narrow individualistic basis. Psychiatrists, like school teachers, have been trying to solve the problems of the individuals "as if" he lived in a social vacuum and without context. It fails to see him as a dynamic factor in a dynamic complex of forces called the "group." Psychiatry is getting away from this limitation—but has, as yet, learned very little

The reason for this is that psychiatrists got off on the wrong foot by approaching human problems as the material scientists approached the study of matter. Psychologists tried to study an individual as though he were a chemical in a test-tube—a thing-in-itself! This approach was all right for physics, chemistry, astronomy, etc. But even the physical scientists have had to enlarge their concepts to include relativity.

A planet has no choice but to revolve around the sun and an acid has no choice as to the relationship it will make with an alkali—but the individual has a *gamut of choices* when he is confronted with another individual. For this reason, psychiatrists lost a lot of time by trying to adapt the "scientific techniques" of physical sciences to the study of human relations problems. The only psychologist who based his whole approach to the human-being-in-his-context was Alfred Adler in his Individual Psychology.⁶

The ideal personality

Since there is, of course, no one personality pattern that is ideal, it is necessary to say that for effective associational living a personality is good or wholesome or adequate in the degree

⁵ "Psychoneurotics Why Our Schools Haven't Helped Them," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 20, No. 9 (May, 1946), pages 519-521

⁶ *Ibid*

that it is founded on habits of cooperation. For a man who lives all his life as a hermit, some other criterion must be applied, but our aim in guidance is not to prepare youths to be hermits. Guidance for complete living will be that which provides satisfying experiences in group endeavors typical of those in which civilized adults engage. In the case of some individuals, distinct achievement may be nothing more than the limited degree of socialization that makes one a good member of the family or some other small, face-to-face group; other individuals may be capable of reasonably consistent practice in a scope so wide that it takes in all mankind. In either instance, the selfish impulses inherited from the jungle have been transmuted into the human qualities through which our culture has evolved.

The individual psychology

The late Dr. Alfred Adler elaborated in many books and published articles the fundamental importance of cooperation in worthy social enterprises as a basis for sane living. One of the three or four outstanding psychologists of our times, Adler demonstrated convincingly in clinics, in schools, and in private practice the successful application of the concept of personality that he chose to call "the Individual Psychology." He saw every living organism as a unique expression of the drive for perfection, the perfection inherently potential in it, rarely attained and only approximated by persistent struggle against many opposing conditions. In the human species an approximation of inherent perfection can be achieved only when the individual can shift his personal center of gravity to a point outside of himself, so that his life is effort unselfishly spent for some larger social good.

The Adlerian psychology is worthy of a fuller treatment than our space permits here, but the reader who dips into some of the sources recommended (see bibliography) will find that the Individual Psychology is largely consonant with the guidance philosophy and technique set forth in this book. Adler was an American by adoption—he brought his wife and family to

America and spent the last years of his life in professional practice in this country—but his work is best known in Vienna and other cities of central Europe, where clinics have demonstrated to teachers the principles of the Individual Psychology, now widely practiced in public schools abroad and increasingly popular in schools in this country.⁷

Entirely aside from the scientific sanctions by which any psychological theory must be accepted or rejected, there are philosophical assumptions basic to the theory that deserve examination. Adler emphasized the scientific nature of his practice, but if his practice was good, it was good first because it was developed from a social philosophy that, in spite of many reverses, still appears worthy of our faith. This is the philosophy of democracy. Our public schools are its tangible symbols. Cooperation is its method. When Adler's idiom is translated into the familiar idiom of educational practice in the American high school, it should be apparent that we have in his work the basis for solving many of our most difficult guidance problems.

Many authors who undertake to interpret the Individual Psychology for teachers put the main emphasis on Adler's principle of compensation for real or fancied inferiority. This is an important part of the theory only if discussed in such a way as to bring out Adler's ideas on the origin of and remedy for this common maladjustment. The cause is too much preoccupation with self, with personal desires, with selfish purposes, the cure, nowhere more likely to be effective than in the controlled environment of the school, is the substitution of social motives, social purposes, and the forms of altruistic participation.

⁷ It is possible that the Adlerian psychology would be even more generally accepted in America if it were not for the fact that it has met serious competition from a rival school already established, that of psychoanalysis. Adler was at one time a pupil of Freud, founder of the practice of psychoanalysis, but he rejected most of the master's theories and established his own clinic to develop his own theories. From that time on, Dr. Freud and most of his devoted followers have used every occasion to disparage Adler's theories, but for classroom teachers the issues between the two schools are largely academic, since Freudian psychoanalysis is the exclusive province of psychiatrists and is not readily simplified for application in the classroom.

that commonly result in generous social approval and incentive for further participation of a similar kind.

The normal mind

Burnham, distinguished American psychologist, has set forth a concept of personality that is in many respects in agreement with the Adlerian concept. A wholesome personality is one established in social motives; and the normal, active individual grows normally when he has a purpose, a plan, and an opportunity for carrying out his plan. Burnham's emphasis on normality is in happy contrast with the morbid, pathological aberrations that make up such a large part of most texts on psychiatry. He is representative of the newer movement characteristically known as the mental-hygiene movement, which is concerned more with promoting and maintaining mental and emotional health than with curing mental diseases.⁸ It is this new emphasis and the development of techniques for applying it in the home and in the classroom that validate the thesis we offer in this book, the concept of guidance as related to the inner compulsions of the student and his habits for successful cooperative living.

The place of the classroom teacher in the mental hygiene movement is of the first degree of importance. The part the teacher may play is not well represented by the practice of some of our professional colleagues, whose limited knowledge and insight of their role is revealed by their propensity for using the jargon of the psychiatric clinics and their habit of discovering symptoms of incipient precoxes and paranoias in all their friends and most of their pupils.

Neither is the teacher's function properly represented by another kind of practice, where a starchy sentimentality marks most of the teachers' professional relations with students; this iddy-biddy-kiddy cult works largely in the elementary grades, especially the kindergarten and primary grades, but it has some

⁸ See William H. Burnham, *The Wholesome Personality*, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932.

followers in the high schools, who go about, starry eyed, in an aura of sweetness and light. The misdirected efforts of these and some equally bizarre practitioners retard the more general application of mental-hygiene principles by teachers, but it seems assured that within our generation we shall see this aspect of educational science developed materially through the important contributions of classroom teachers.

The role of the teacher in personnel work has evolved during the last generation, under considerable impetus from psychological clinics. Mental hygienists had early discovered that cases referred to them were often the end-products of developmental conditions that might have been discovered by teachers. Jane Waters has written a comprehensive review of the contributing forces that have influenced guidance practices, and has expertly traced the influences that have made teachers more frequently aware of mental-hygiene principles.⁹ This awareness inevitably brings about a healthy improvement in the teachers' methods of dealing with individual students and with groups:

... Usually teachers who have a knowledge of the principles of mental hygiene readily accept and act on the personnel point of view. Teachers who possess an understanding of human behavior and who have become imbued with the personnel point of view show a change in attitude toward the "problem child." They become less concerned with the maladjustment of the child as a disturbing force in an orderly school life and become more concerned with it as a destructive force in a child's life. They see that it is the child and not the school routine which needs protection from maladjustment. They change from a policy of attaching blame and punishment to one of seeking the underlying causes of maladjustment and of trying to correct or counteract its influence on the child. Discipline as the giving of penalties changes to a form of character education. Efforts are directed toward helping the pupil attain progressive development through learning to accept responsi-

⁹ By permission from *High School Personnel Work Today*, by Jane Waters, copyrighted, 1946, by the McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc. Chapter III, "The Influence of Some Contributing Forces."

bility for his own acts and through substituting self-discipline, or inner control, for teacher discipline, or outer control.

Beyond personality .

Health is not an end in itself but a condition favorable to the attainment of some other ultimates. By the same token, mental hygiene and the most harmonious integration of all personality elements must be considered as conditions that are necessary or desirable for accomplishing some far-off aims. What these ultimate goals will be, each person must decide for himself, consciously or unconsciously. Even among the members of a group that selects a set of clearly perceived values by which to live their lives there will be personal goals, as individual, as unique, as the personalities of the members.

One paramount end of life, as we see it from the viewpoint of educators, is the achievement of that personal quality that we recognize in others as character. This is the consummation of all educational effort, certainly. It is the supreme artistic achievement.

It is not easy to distinguish between personality and character, for they overlap. Personality is a social quality, as we have employed it in this discussion; it is an index of social effectiveness. It is closely related to morality, inasmuch as one must conform in a general way to the mores if he is to be effective. Only in the upper levels of integration is personality closely related to ethics or to ethical character.

A man whose actions, thoughts, and desires are generally consistent one with another and with a personal code of ideals intellectually refined is said to have integrity. He may be respected and trusted, even though the ethics by which he governs his conduct are not identical with the code generally accepted by those who know him. He has the respect of his fellows, and, what is more important, he has self-respect so long as he maintains the fine balance between his personal ideals and his conduct. A man who has personal integrity is trusted because, being true to himself, he "cannot then be false to any man."

Character is not the attainment of moral perfection, for a

man might be moral through nothing more than the herd instinct, the desire to conform. Or a man might be a paragon of morality by doing nothing and so avoiding any offense against the customs. But a do-nothing, a nobody, could not be said to have character. Even if he were ethical, observing all his own scruples, he could not be said to have character if he dared nothing, tried nothing, accomplished nothing. On the other hand, a man of extensive accomplishments might lack character, if he did not measure by his personal code the possible consequences of every significant act.

Character, then, is a function of ethics and accomplishment. It is wholly imponderable, at least, it will be one of the last qualities to which any objective measure can be accurately applied. There is surely no statistical symbol as yet available to express a character index. To reduce it to statistics one would need the figures in which to express the product that might be obtained when an individual's accomplishments were multiplied by his conscience. Large accomplishments times small conscience, or large conscience times small accomplishments would both give relatively unsatisfactory indexes. The equation for a good and full life (God forbid that life be reduced to algebraic symbols!) must contain no fractions and no negative numbers.

Guidance for ethical character is the most important of all the various types of guidance, but it cannot be accomplished, it appears, except as an aspect of the whole program of guidance. At least, it will not do to teach moral precepts or preachments with the idea that these are the equivalent of experience. A social conscience—any conscience must be social—is not transferrable; each individual must create his own by practice in appraising critically his own conduct. No conduct is ethical unless it is reasoned conduct. Guidance for ethical character must consist principally in allowing students opportunities for practice in making free choices between alternative courses of action, each choice a rational one.

It is obvious that adolescents are too lacking in experience to have achieved more than a promise of the form of ethical character that we conceive as one of the tests of a good life. But

in character education, adolescence is of great importance. Though extremists hold that all the seeds of character are planted before the second birthday, the more scientific view allows for a larger amount of growth through reasoned, purposeful experience. During adolescence the child first comes into the use of his powers of logical thinking; it is not until he can think about his conduct, forward and backward, that it becomes conduct with ethical significance. As a child, by custom he is excused for misconduct, because he has acquired neither a personal standard of ethics nor the skill to apply one imaginatively in determining a course of action.

Good will toward men

There are still left in the world many men of good will. There are some who fought in the war yet fought without hatred and only because they were caught in a paradox. To win peace they must fight. To win peace and to maintain it, warships and bombers, atom bombs, and the menace of released germs are the means offered us. But the arsenals of peace are the classrooms. Peace is a personal thing. Delegates representing a hundred nations may sign their names and affix their seals to a treaty of peace, but peace is affirmed and secured in the hearts of mothers and daughters and fathers and sons.

Thirty years ago, a national committee drafted a statement that included "Seven Ultimate Objectives of Secondary Education." The seventh of these was *Ethical Character* and it was the sum of all the others. For a generation now, students of education have learned the seven objectives by heart. But we are discovering that this last of the seven is not merely a phrase to be learned, but instead is one of the means of survival. In solemn truth, if there be time enough, what other means is left to us? How else shall we protect ourselves against ourselves? How else, but by good will—the will to be good and to do good, the wish to be at peace within ourselves; the wish to live at peace with others? Here is a goal for students and for teachers that will not be measured by the writing of glib phrases. The "passing mark" is very high, but we can't afford to fail—there will be few, if any, permitted to repeat the course.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Guidance Program as Related to the Out-of-School Lives of the Students

ASSUMING that boys and girls of secondary school age, say thirteen to eighteen, average nine hours a day sleep (and this allowance is probably generous), each boy and girl is more or less conscious and learning almost 5,479 hours a year, of which scarcely 900 are spent in school. That is, for every hour in classroom, study hall, assembly, lunchroom, and in corridors and on the playground, the child spends six more hours at home or at work or play largely unconnected with the school. This estimate would have to be modified for those progressive schools which have lengthened the school day and provided for study time, club meetings, athletics, orchestra, and the like under the direction of the school.

Of course, nearly all secondary schools attempt to direct some of the out-of-school time by means of home assignments of lessons to be learned to be recited in classes. In better schools some teachers make home assignments which call for the application of knowledges and processes learned in class, and an occasional teacher inspires and helps students to attempt creative activities that are complementary to, but not specifically related to, the preparation of lessons to be recited or lessons to be applied. In most secondary schools, however, home assignments are seldom more than uninspiring tasks to be performed in order to get marks and promotion to the next grade.

Indeed, the home assignment, instead of reinforcing desirable home or leisure activities, usually conflicts with and so undermines desirable social habits. Whether considered as guidance

in relation to better home membership, to civic attitudes and behaviors, to economic adjustments, to worthy uses of leisure, or to health of body or mind, *conventional assignments of lessons to be prepared at home for school testing are futile and tedious.*

Broken homes and normal homes

A generation ago high schools were attended by the sons and daughters of the cultural elite. When secondary education was popularized, however (by attendance laws and the advance of technological unemployment), the lower social strata, successively less enriched, gave up their children to the teachers. The girl who lives down by the tracks in a blistered two-room house overrun with brothers and sisters and neighbors' kids has obvious handicaps to the completion of her home assignments. All of us who know the typical middle-class American home concede that the girl down by the tracks is not the only one distracted. The "white-collar" student brings his assigned problems home to an atmosphere that is somewhat different from that of a monastic cell.

There is an unappreciated amount of emotional strain that is far too frequent and intense in even the best home. It is, indeed, common among parents who are themselves living a somewhat intense life, who want their children to succeed in school, and who tend to blame them if they do not.

But someone has to receive low marks if the distribution of marks on a competitive basis continues. Generally, unintentionally to be sure, we send our "flunkers" home to stand disgrace in the eyes of their families, to be hounded to their lessons by conscientious parents, to learn to be complacent while their minds stray away from their opened books and while mother mends or talks over the telephone, and while the radio plays in the front room. Small wonder that such youths build up defense reactions, charge teachers with favoritism, dislike studies, day dream, and compensate for their inferiority by dressing, decorating themselves, and posturing in such ways as to attract attention.

How long is an hour?

Very few lesson assigners have a proper idea of how much time will be required for the preparation of this or that assignment. Each subject teacher claims the prerogative of giving out an assignment which "will take about one hour." But we need to ask, What *kind* of an hour? When we deal with time as a unit of measure in conjunction with human beings, we are on very uncertain ground. In mechanics, if we assume reasonable adjustment of cogwheels, cams, explosions, and so on, we may talk of revolutions per minute, or foot-pounds per hour, with relatively insignificant errors, perhaps. The human mechanism is not so steady. Fatigue, ennui, digestion, eye-strain, and interests all cause the quantity and quality of production in any unit of time to vary greatly. Boys and girls who are not yet in thrall to the deadly routine of life and who would seek for adventure with zeal, usually go through the motions of studying at home only half attentive to lessons. "An hour on each lesson" is wasteful and futile. One does not live that way. Even adult school teachers may learn more in an intensive drive of complete absorption in a task than they would in a long period of half attention actively "willing" their minds to do Latin when Vaughn Munroe is at the radio-door asking to be let in and the latest issue of *Life* needs scanning.

Varying degrees of intensity result in rather surprising rates of learning and qualities of mastering. Let us take a true case: A sixteen-year-old boy of good natural ability (about 125 I.Q.), after progressing normally through the elementary and junior high school, found no challenge in the mathematics, history, or foreign language of the senior high school. The teachers complained that he was unable to concentrate on these formal studies. Yet the same boy decided that he would like to own a B-flat baritone horn, set to work, earned the money, bought the instrument, and taught himself to play it with such skill as to make the orchestra and to be invited to play over the radio (which he did quite acceptably). This achievement, from the

first expressed desire to the demonstrated accomplishment, took only five months.

Meantime the boy had been engaged in athletics, school entertainments, and the varied activities of the Scout program. In a bashful way he was experimenting in other social affairs; a girl interested him, boy friends visited him, and he accepted invitations to the homes of his friends, both youths and adults. Now, such experiences are all desirable, normal, purposeful. They promote reflective thinking, alertness of physical and mental responses, attitudes of tolerance, and interests in many aspects of life—mechanical, aesthetic, social, and intellectual. They involve no end of hard work, drudgery, correction of mistakes, avoidance of or overcoming of misunderstandings. They serve as a pretty adequate initiation to desirable adult social activities and adjustments.

The school too frequently forgets that it deals with only half or a quarter of a boy or girl. The youth referred to above carries in school five units of work, each of which is by definition equivalent to 120 sixty-minute prepared periods—let us say 240 hours of work. Five units then would require 1200 hours a year. A conservative estimate of the time he is giving to Scouting alone would amount to 1000 hours a year, and the time he gives to music outside of regular school hours is at least 700 hours a year. No more than a rough guess could be made of the time he spends in reading and reflecting on problems that really interest him, or of the time given to athletics, social mingling, helping his parents at home, contemplating pictures and sunsets. The boy wastes very little time. He is in school 900 hours, and he gives the required 300 hours of outside work to school lessons. He lives much more intensively, however, in the occupations that fill in the other 4200 waking hours in the year.

The school cannot be of much assistance in guiding the life of a student except as it directs all of its efforts to exploit for his good and that of society the interests, attitudes, and skills that grow out of the desirable activities of the four thousand



From "All the Children," 38th Ann Rept, Supt of Schools, City of New York
THE DAY CAMP IS GUIDANCE FOR VACATION MONTHS

two hundred hours a year not spent in studying or reciting lessons. The home assignments must buttress and encourage the desirable activities that boys and girls engage in anyway and must help them learn how to use the good in activities potentially good and bad. By providing in the school program activities that parallel the desirable out-of-school ones, we may give not only encouragement but practice for them. Thus far the "extra-curricular" program has done this in a measure, but we must find more ways and make them part and parcel of the curriculum. If youths and adults spend millions of hours at motion-picture shows, then we must help them to discriminate between pictures that are technically and artistically well conceived and executed and those that are anathema. If people play cards and go to dances and read magazines, then these activities, in some form, might well be electives in our curricula and items for home study.

Edward J. Lesser has set up six criteria for controlling home assignments.¹ He asks the teacher to consider, first, whether the homework is purposeful, whether it is "motivated by the desire of the pupil to accomplish something for himself" Second, is the reason for the assignment one that is clear to the pupil, or must he accept it as a discipline? Third, does the assignment help the individual to learn to work alone and on his own resources? (If he must have help, the work should be done in school) Fourth, is the assignment reasonable in amount and in difficulty—not so hard as to cause frustration; not so easy as to be mere "busy work"? Fifth, is the work *regularly* assigned, and is it one part of a plan for developing systematic study habits? Sixth, is the home environment favorable for the accomplishment of the assignment?

It is obvious that these criteria must be applied with extensive knowledge of the temperament and interests and home life of each student. This fact does not mean that they are unworkable. Some years ago, a similar set of criteria were set up by the faculty in a junior high school, and, during a test period,

¹ "The Mental Hygiene of Homework Assignments," *The Clearing House*, Vol 19, No 6 (February, 1945), pages 380-381

each teacher was asked to submit, for the supervisor's review, the exact assignment that she proposed to give to her students. It was an enlightening experience for the supervisor. Every criterion proposed was violated by one teacher or another, for there was a wide range of opinion as to what was reasonable in terms of "amount" and "difficulty." After several months, however, the procedure worked itself out. One of the notable features that evolved was that of having the assignments mimeographed and distributed to the students. This process took time, effort, material, and planning, but it improved efficiency by an incalculable amount.

There is a serious side to being young

All young people are, in some degree, aware of the problems facing them, the serious problems that involve, on the one hand, shifting values in the culture and the class they represent, and, on the other hand, the common conflict between their ego-impulses and their resources. They worry about school success and about social success. They worry about personal appearance and about health. They worry about economics—not the economics of international cartels, trade treaties, or the value of the dollar, but rather about how to get a dollar, or another dollar, to buy a ticket or a pair of tickets to the Friday evening dance.²

These quandaries are significant to all of us engaged in the ministry of youth, but preoccupation with these surface problems may cause a counselor to overlook the deeper problems not so readily divulged by reticent youths. These serious concerns of adolescents are not unrelated to the incidental ones, for both kinds of problems are the result of the same conflict as in the hypothetical problem we discussed when we ourselves were high school students, "What must happen when an immovable mass is struck by an irresistible force?" What happens when

² Cf. P. M. Symonds, "Economic Problems and Interests of Adolescents," *School Review*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 2 (February, 1940). See also P. M. Symonds, "Life Problems and Interests of Adolescents," *School Review*, Vol. XLIV, No. 7 (September, 1936).

the immovable mass that is the arbitrary code of behavior imposed by adults on youth is struck by the irresistible force of biological urge coupled in a chain reaction with sociological compulsion? What happens is not a cosmic explosion but an unending series of conflicts from which the adolescent may escape only by the tedious process of growing up.

Many girls and some boys worry about their lack of interest in scholastic success, about boy-and-girl relationships, about financial restrictions imposed by their families, and about the religious faiths and codes of their parents when they themselves do not accept these codes wholeheartedly.³ In time of war, and in the times when open hostilities have stopped and "peace has broken out" in a long series of complex manipulations carried on at international conferences, the youths we know best in terms of droopy socks, flying shirt-tail, and sloppy slacks—these apprentice citizens of the New World are not at all indifferent to the nature of the problems they must accept as the principal part of their heritage.⁴

Two quotations from serious youths are both representative and enlightening for those of us who would act as guides for our younger, but sometimes quite mature, associates. The first is a statement by a student of Central High School, Springfield, Massachusetts, written two decades ago, yet, unhappily, similar in every word and phrase to the statements that students in a serious mood write now:

Every day we see standards changing. People do and are praised for things we believed were considered wrong. In the newspapers we read long lists of couples desirous of divorce. In the books we read, serious subjects are discussed very frankly and daringly, and often the author's viewpoint is radically different from what we considered right. Even in people's conversation we notice this

³I. Hertler, "Problems of the Normal Adolescent Girl," *California Journal of Secondary Education*, February, 1940.

⁴cf. Hugh S. Bonar, "High School Pupils List Their Anxieties," *School Review*, September, 1942. Also cf. L. A. Kirkendall, "Growing Pains," and "When a Shaver Begins to Shave," *Educational Leadership*, May, 1945, Dwight L. Arnold and R. L. Mooney, "A Student's Problem Check List for Junior High School," *Educational Research Bulletin*, February 17, 1943.

breaking down of moral tone. To a young person this is very upsetting and confusing. The question arises as to what is right and what is wrong, and how are we to judge. Another thing which is very vague and indeed of which few of us are aware is our social responsibility. Most of us do not know that we owe something to the world. We are out for our own pleasure and the gratification of our own desires, to be gained by doing as little work as possible and by imposing heavy burdens upon our parents or presuming upon other people's generosity.⁵

The other is an excerpt from a letter written by George Kidd Perkins (son of Milo Perkins, former Director of the Board of Economic Warfare), who lost his life while in training in May, 1943:

. It's after the war that the real fight will start. Plenty of people who couldn't change fast enough to prevent this war still sit in the seats of the mighty. Never forget that they'll be a lot stronger when this is over than they are now. That's the time when we who are doing the fighting will need some real leadership

This war is our job and we are going to win it in the battle-fronts, come hell or high water. The really tough job is going to begin after the war when the same forces that got us into this one will be pitted against the men who've got the guts to fight for a world in which everybody can have a chance to do useful work. We kids are depending on you older guys not to let this happen again. What we're fighting for must not die in an armistice.⁶

These words of a young soldier take on a more dramatic quality because he has died and cannot read in the headlines the confirmation of what he sensed so surely. Their implication, however, lies in the fact that many of the young men and women we know are capable of such straight thinking, and oftener than we know they have an intuitive knowledge of relationships that they have not learned from their teachers, at

⁵ *The High School Curriculum*, Sixth Yearbook, Department of Superintendence, National Education Association, 1928, Chapter II

⁶ Read by Henry Wallace in connection with an address delivered at Connecticut College for Women, June 6, 1947

least not in the formal classroom lessons through which it is assumed they will be prepared for their responsibilities in an era that began with the effective use of the principle of atomic fission.

Neither guidance nor education can afford to be concerned with superficial things. It is relatively unimportant that the boys choose to wear their shirt-tails out—unless it is perceived that this is a gesture to gain attention in a situation where something of one's ego must be rescued from the suffocating pressure of institutionalism. It is important that all teaching and all guidance be designed to aid in the transformation that is taking place before our eyes, the eternal miracle by which youths who are clumsy, reticent, indifferent, and stubborn, become in an hour men and women of courage, resolution, insight, skill, and driving idealism.

In periods of full employment, cooperation between the school and industry, commerce, and government offices hold relatively high place in the conscious provisions for coordinated education. The term popularized during recent years is "work experience." It is part of the movement that included the development of cooperative high schools in Cincinnati, Dayton, Pittsburgh, and some other cities as early as 1910. It is related to the continuation schools, adapted from European patterns, which were established in many states after 1920.

The purpose and results of "work experience" are potentially very significant, especially because such experience supplements the inevitable training characteristic of school education and aids youths to adapt themselves to the vagaries and inconsistencies of adults under whose direction they will work—adults who are unpredictably patient or short-tempered, enthusiastic or *blasé*, generous or selfish.

It is not intended here to discuss in detail the important contributions made in recent years to the "work experience" idea. "Work experience" is usually treated as a phase of vocational guidance, it is obvious that such experience, well-engineered, has important possibilities that are not limited to the choice or practice of a vocation. "Work experience," when it is accom-

plished in a real situation where a youth must adjust to adult standards of production and must work at the pace set by adults, is a part of the initiation into adulthood that ought to be engineered by the secondary school. Real "work experience" is not to be had, however, in the kind of simulated business activities offered by "Junior Achievement" and other organizations that encourage youths to "go into business for themselves." Nothing short of working for money in an adult enterprise operated for profit and without subsidies can provide the values essential for guidance—real achievement, real hard-earned money, real aches and real blisters.

The "whole child" grows up

It is almost a generation since William Heard Kilpatrick pointed out that the school must design its program to serve the whole child, and must not fail to realize that the child who comes to school brings with him as a part of himself all the influences and all the problems and all the interests that are a part of him when he is not in school. The concept was popularized among elementary school teachers, and the practice of many elementary schools was improved by teachers and supervisors who had the insight to apply it. But secondary school faculties somehow failed to hear or to understand Kilpatrick's eloquent plea for the whole child. High school practice, at any rate, generally disregards the fact that this "whole child" grows up into a "whole youth," a youth whose development depends on companionship and adventure, experiments and victories and mistakes and failures outside of school, quite as much as it does on the most inspirational instruction he gets at school.

This concept is easily stated. By most, it is readily understood. But there are within it implications for education that are only a little short of revolutionary. The content and method and organization of secondary education will be turned inside out when this concept is generally accepted and fully implemented. In the following paragraphs there will be set forth some of the ways in which the authors believe the high

school may bring about something approaching a rational and integrated experience for adolescents.

Schooling, education, and child development are not synonymous terms. While none of these three processes functions in a compartment, schooling is connected with an institution devoted to relatively specific purposes; education includes schooling but is intentionally carried on by social groups and by many institutions other than the school; development is the interaction of the child and his total environment.

Guidance suffers from the confusion of schooling, of education, and of child development. All of us are conscious of the influence of physical environment, of social-economic status, and of family, neighborhood, religion, and a thousand other formal and informal associational experiences which shape the personalities of human beings from birth till death. Nevertheless, by a curious dissociation of ideas and sentiments, we tend to narrow our thinking about education in its varying aspects to what happens in school and in those activities that the school directs.

In the sense that school purposes and procedures are more the immediate concern of teachers than are the less readily controlled affairs of the many other institutions that influence high school youths, this narrowness of attention can be justified to some degree. Unfortunately, however, it insinuates itself into the assumptions that underlie school guidance concepts and guidance organization and procedures. Too generally, the principal and the teachers seem to expect that a cause instigated by the school will be followed by a determinable effect, regardless of all the other influences that are simultaneously affecting the youths so "guided."

To help correct this misapprehension, we have endeavored to point out the developmental effects of community living in general, and, more specifically, to emphasize the quality of guidance that such non-scholastic experiences frequently provide. In the following paragraphs we have sketched some of the ways in which the high school may capitalize the important guidance realities of the students' life out of school, supporting

the positive influences, minimizing or offsetting the negative ones.

Guidance in a confused and contradictory world

The continuing battle for the control of the minds and hearts and efficiencies of on-coming generations is not new in human experience. Nor is the present the first time in history when inertia and conservatism have functioned to support the programs of selfish and unenlightened adults who would capture and exploit the energies and enthusiasms of youth.

Psychological indoctrination and "moral" training are inevitable. From birth, the child's social and physical environments surround him with opportunities and challenges to feel and act; and they provide responses to his every act and feeling, responses that are satisfying or annoying, some of them consistently and intentionally so, some inconsistent and relatively accidental. The development of the child is in large degree determined by the gross total of these impulses, activities, and environmental responses in continuity.

This gross total reflects the customs and values of the section of the social system in which the child finds himself. The section may be dominated by some intense national purpose or by the narrow ambition of a class or a clique. War-time regimentation, endured for patriotic and altruistic motives, may in time of peace be replaced by a run-away individualism, motivated by a kind of selfishness that would not be found even among jungle beasts. The new-rich, inevitable by-product of war, may indiscriminately ape the obvious and superficial postures of what they assume to be the social elite. In varying but inescapable climates of opinion, children develop into youths and youths develop into adults, influenced, stamped, or even shaped according to the nature of their reactions.

The process of education is less promiscuous. Whether through the home or the school or some other social institution, the child is taught by his elders and his contemporaries to believe, to behave, and to reason in the ways that seem to his guardians to be good for him and for the institutions they

would have him maintain. Inconsistency and conflicts among these values and ways of attaining them may be only less glaring than those characteristic of the general environment. But education is more deliberate and considered than development.

Schooling is the function of the school as the one institution dedicated to the education of the young—and more recently to that of adults. In its traditional role in America the school acts on behalf of the community as a State agency to supplement and partially to replace the home and its doctrines. It instructs its pupils in techniques, information, and social and personal habits of behavior and belief, and, by its regimen and associational life, it fosters attitudes and standards that are acceptable to teachers and communities. These attitudes and standards too seldom are deliberately selected on the basis of social worth; too generally, they are no more than the stereotypes of that which is "right and fitting."

Insofar as such instruction and regimen are arbitrarily imposed by teachers and patrons of the school, they are "training." Training may be justifiable, but it allows little opportunity for guidance. Guidance cannot be superimposed; it would be meaningless if the students who were to be guided were not relatively free to make decisions, to act, to believe, to be, and to become. Our concern here is with the school's function as an institution for guiding young people to make and to appraise and to revise their own decisions.

If the individual is to be encouraged to discover his own mind and to use it for his own purposes, guidance by the school's officials must concern itself both with the individuality of the students and with the many influences, in school and out of school, that contribute to the development of that individuality. Hence, guidance must be a process for subtly evaluating, co-ordinating, and rectifying diverse aspects of social life.

Gaining community cooperation for guidance

It is obvious that the school, by itself, will have little effect in guidance if the customs and outlook of the noisy, flamboyant, political, economic, and recreational "juke jives" are

more potent than are school associations and the cultural influence of teachers in determining the values by which our young men and women will live. In the face of competition with these strenuous influences, many school executives develop a defeatist attitude. They may, in such a mood, assign counselors and homeroom teachers to confer with students only about school matters—tardiness, attendance, discipline, grades, and credits, or the choice of courses or curricula. They may set aside some time for the study of occupations, for "group guidance"; they may even provide vocational counselors and placement and follow-up services. But, however they may rationalize their retreat from reality, they nevertheless do, in fact, leave the individual pupil to his own devices in adjusting himself to his social environment.

Such defeatism is not necessary. In every community there are parents, civic leaders, youth organizations, and public officials who are quite as much concerned regarding the welfare of youth as is the faculty of the high school. Indeed, among the apparently careless, even callous, adults there is often a disposition to be helpful if they are encouraged to examine the problems that youth face and to discover their own present and future relationship to those who are now young.

Using the dynamics of unspent loyalties

One large part of the community not utilized to the full for a constructive educational program is the schools' alumni. Generally, the appeal to the alumni has been for the support of the program, for moral support or political support. Except for infrequent instances where they have assisted with athletics or debating, there has been no consistent, active participation by alumni in the intramural life of the high school. Academic interests are less dramatic than the competitive aspects of debating and athletics, yet there are abundant opportunities for alumni participation in the work of the orchestra, in school dramatics, in the student council, in the work of the editorial groups responsible for school publications. Indeed, if classes in problems of democracy, current literature,

and applied science are to be really significant, there should be many occasions when an active, organized alumni group could be allowed expressions for its loyalty within the program of scheduled classes, as well as in the extra-syllabi activities. Such an alumni group would be constantly informed about developments in the educational program and would be in a strategic position to interpret this information throughout the community and to provide for the high-school faculty and principal valuable, friendly criticism based on community sentiment.

High school alumni associated with local industrial and mercantile concerns form the logical nucleus for advisory committees through which local businessmen may have an opportunity to express their interest in the work of the high school most closely related to their special fields. It is common to find that local companies have an active interest in the commercial training the high school provides, and in the vocational courses and the fine-art and applied-art courses. This interest may turn sour if they expect too much or fail to appreciate the obstacles involved. Progressive high schools have established advisory committees of specialists in various vocations to advise the principal and Board of Education from time to time on conditions "in the field" which affect the training courses and to review matters of school policy in these courses.

Parents and pupils are reasonable human beings, and when tactfully approached are usually openminded, if they are confident of the honesty and competence of school officials. They should be kept informed of pending developments, their counsel should be respected, their objections registered, their help in improving situations requested.

Inevitably, in such a fluid society as is America, all members of the community have a stake in youth welfare and hence in youth guidance. Whatever other instruments exist in the locality for guidance services, it is self-evident that the school's opportunity is a very important one. To use this opportunity the school must persistently maintain that its function is the correction or positive control of the developmental processes that life involves.

Toward this end, the faculty of the school must recognize the basic fact that guidance takes place in the community, willy-nilly—guidance that is largely unplanned and generally unnoticed but very effective. Without conscious intent the normal individual seeks not only security through conformity but also the thrill of adventure through non-conformity. He craves recognition by his contemporaries and acceptance by some of his associates of all ages. To these ends, he accepts, as points of reference, the prestige-values of which he has become aware through observation, conversation, and reading.

Not only children and youths, but teachers, parents, and other adults are constantly responding to the moods and preferences of the galleries before which they play their various roles. Often the roles call for cleverness, for bluffing, for audacity, for sophistication, for vociferous agreement, or for conspicuous dressing. Other occasions call for self-denial, or assertive disagreement, or the acceptance of the responsibilities of leadership. Through his responses, of one kind or another—wisely chosen or poorly chosen—the individual creates his *self*. It is a self that is multi-phased, often paradoxical, sometimes evanescent. The school, if it is to be an effective guidance agency, must function as a controlled social-physical environment wherein the more desirable aspects of community life are reinforced and the less desirable are minimized or offset. Many of the gross social situations and responses of life are ambivalent. It is the duty of the school to employ a method in which students are relatively free to make decisions but in which prestige is the reward for the more worthy responses.

"Exceptional heroism"

During the participation of the United States in World War II, it was not uncommon to read in the newspapers about boys of fourteen and fifteen who had enlisted in the armed services and who had been good soldiers until their misrepresentation of age was discovered. Then they were sent packing home. Several of these lads had not only been in combat but had won citations for exceptional heroism.

These under-age youths were frequently written up in the newspapers, but another preponderantly larger group was not considered newsworthy: the seventeen-year-olds, literally millions of them, who volunteered for service in the Navy and the Marine Corps. They volunteered. They were intensively trained. Many of them were in combat, and many of them were casualties. At the age when many of them would have been writing senior term papers and editing the high school annual and playing on the school basketball team, they were storming Okinawa, bouncing on icy waters in a mine sweeper, or lying in a general hospital, swathed in gauze and bandages.

The youths who went to war in uniform were only a part of the great number who left school between 1941 and 1945. There were also the boys and girls who went to work in factories, offices, mines, and fields. In airplane factories those who had a modicum of skill made more money than their teachers who stayed in the classrooms. Girls who had completed a year of typing in high school and could do straight copy work were employed, hundreds of thousands of them, in plants and in government offices. Industry employed girls in production also, and "Rosie the Riveter," in slacks and a shirt and a bandanna, worked the swing shift when she should have been doing her home-study assignments.

The point of these observations is, of course, that in time of national emergency we find it convenient to classify many of our youths as adult. We allow them to do adult work with adults—to drive tanks and tractors, to use their keen eyes at gun sights, micrometers, radar scanners, and microscopes. They share in the pay and in the praise. They earn overtime and medals and promotions. They are rated according to what they can *do*. The irony lies in the fact that when peace "breaks out" we revert to our other plan in which youths must be classified as children, not adults.

The "national emergency" is not over. It did not begin with a presidential proclamation, it was not ended by a presidential proclamation. The emergency has changed character somewhat, but it is not over. And we do not dare to waste the pre-

cious resources represented by the youth of our country. We need their active participation in every enterprise. In many situations they will, of course, have an apprentice status, but they will not be exiled to some academic island to develop their mental and spiritual "muscles" by learning nonsense syllables or working algebraic crosswords—or will they?

This chapter is about the "out-of-school lives of students." But it is incorrect to infer that a student has several lives. He has only one. Every hour of it is important. The school controls the student's time during school hours, but it does not really control what he will learn or what he will be. School experiences are only incidents in the whole life of a youth. Guidance must take into account the whole life and the dreams as well as the reality.

There was a time when the schoolmaster could stand on a dais and impress his class by using long words and intimating that he had great knowledge that he might share with his students. But it becomes more and more difficult to maintain such a position. There are, in any high school class, students who have visited places that the teacher has not visited, who have learned things that are not in books, who have developed skills that were entirely unknown even in laboratories ten years ago. The out-of-school lives of students present such preposterous examples as these.

In New York a boy was doing indifferently well in his course in bookkeeping. His teacher was concerned about his apparent lack of interest. The boy looked a little sleepy. He slumped in his seat and spent much time looking out of the window. He had been absent from school the day before and was more than ever behind in his work. The teacher approached him and in a not unfriendly manner asked where he had been the previous afternoon when the class in bookkeeping met. The boy hesitated a second before answering, then said, "I was taking the sun on Malibou beach." He smiled a little, as though he had made a joke. And the teacher smiled and let it go at that. But the teacher later found out that the boy worked in his spare time in a laboratory where commercial photographs were made. His employer had had a com-

mission to make some pictures in Hollywood. He had gone out by plane, had taken the boy along to assist him with some of the technical details. They had finished their work by noon, had spent the afternoon on the beach at Malibou with some young people from the movie colony, and had boarded a stratospheric liner that evening for New York.

The class in ancient history got off to a promising beginning. The teacher, with the aid of a large wall-map, was pointing out the "fertile crescent" and commenting on the importance of this area in the history of the ancient world. One tall, quiet young fellow rose and began to elaborate on the geographical features represented by the map—the deserts, the Dead Sea, the Tigris. He talked about it all as though he had seen it all . . . And so he had, from a reserved seat in an AAF bomber flying tactical missions—forty or fifty of them—high above the same lands where the Medes (of the history text) had fought the Persians.

The class in problems of democracy had been discussing the possibility of rehabilitating Germany within a certain given time. Somebody raised the question, "How badly was the industrial area of Germany damaged by the bombing in the last months of the war, and how many of the German factories are producing now?" That was Friday afternoon. On Monday afternoon one of the boys in the class gave a report and a partial answer to the question, based on his own observations. His father is a vice-president of an airline that operates planes between New York and Berlin. The boy had accompanied his father on an inspection flight to Berlin, had spent three hours there, had returned by the next flight to New York. The industrial area, he said, was still badly wrecked, though some factories were now operating. But Berlin!—he said he wouldn't have believed that Berlin was so badly smashed up.

There was a girl in the class in economic geography. Many of the topics covered by the class she seemed already familiar with. The teacher inquired whether she had taken the course before. No, she had not. But her father was a carpenter. During the war he had worked on construction projects in seven different states. His family travelled with him. They lived in a trailer. The girl had seen a lot of geography—they had driven through 38 states in the course of their travels. She didn't know much about economics, but she had driven for miles and miles through Iowa corn fields, she had seen the grazing country and the forests and the endless

acres of fruit trees in blossom. She had seen Boulder Dam, and a copper mine, and the packing houses at Kansas City. She had seen a lot of economic geography and had learned some things for herself.

A lot of people are doing a lot of living and learning in what we quaintly refer to as "out-of-school hours." Some of our students are better informed at fifteen than their grandparents were at fifty. It is a condition that we might think of as a kind of informational speed-up. It is not an unmixed blessing, of course, and what our students have learned so early in their lives will not serve them very long, for much of it will be altered soon. For those who have the time and the inclination, it is good to know something about the Medes and the Persians and a hundred other nations that moved like chessmen in an endless tournament. But we who are the mentors and friends and guides of students must know that most of those whom we strive so hard to prepare for examinations have sources of information and a variety of experiences that do not wait on our assignments in the classroom.

The Guidance Role of the Classroom Teacher

IT is a fundamental belief of the authors, elaborated in every chapter of this book, that the effectiveness of any guidance program depends, in large measure, upon the performance of the teacher. In this chapter it will be interesting to focus our attention upon the teacher and to observe in precisely what ways he carries out his part as guide, philosopher, and friend to his students. We shall also note the conditions that must obtain in the school if the teacher is to be successful in guidance, and the personal factors related to his success.

The high school is a place where adolescents come together to educate themselves and one another, with the friendly help of older, wiser persons who are teachers. At least, that is what the high school is trying to be, or to become, though it has a clumsy trick of getting in its own way. It falls into the habit, sometimes, of helping not wisely but too much. It shares with the child's parents the obligation of directing his growth, and it frequently makes the same mistakes that parents make—those of trying to live his life and of attempting to carry him by academic short cuts over the rough places so as to spare him the bumps and bruises that are incidents of ordinary progress.

But living organisms grow from the inside. Their growth is not accomplished or accelerated by plastering things on the outside, for these plastered things never become part of the living child. It is provoking, perhaps; it would be so much easier, so much simpler, if knowledge and wisdom, grace and poise, and charm and efficiency could be applied with a brush

or trowel, or given in capsule form, or by a course of inoculations. Children fail to respond to such treatment. The school then is constrained to go along with the child, to help him grow in his own way, to serve him first of all by recognizing and approving the desirable thing he already can do.

The guidance specialist serves best as leader and coordinator and consultant

In some larger high schools, the resident personnel officer is sometimes called a "dean," sometimes "vocational counselor," and, occasionally, "placement officer." It is characteristic of the hodgepodge efforts inherent in modern institutional life to short-cut all necessary adjustments, that such an officer is frequently expected to attend to the actual advising of a thousand or even two, three, or four thousand students. As a result he is obliged to content himself with going through a perfunctory ritual, signing election blanks, having students fill out personal information cards, *ad infinitum*.

When there has been adequate planning, however, such a special officer may be a very valuable coordinating factor in a school. *The specialist's success may be measured by the extent to which he stimulates and directs the advisory activities of the regular teachers.* Because of his special knowledge in the fields of job requirements, educational possibilities, and, perhaps, psychiatric conditions, he is able to advise teachers, parents, and the students themselves in cases of puzzling maladjustments.

The specialist may also render great assistance in the issuance of work certificates, the transition of the student from high school to the continuation school, and the follow-up record by which the high school may extend its friendly interest to the boy or girl for a year or more after he has gone to work.

In the small high school, where the employment of a special full-time officer of this kind is not feasible, it is desirable that similar duties be delegated to the best prepared teacher and that his teaching schedule and salary be adjusted to correspond to the importance of the assignment.

The whole field of guidance and personnel work is, un-

happily, a battleground for the champions of the teacher versus champions of the specialist. The functions of the specialist are adequately treated in hundreds of familiar texts and reports. There is a growing literature on the teacher's part in personnel work. There are relatively few studies that reconcile the two. It is a matter of great interest and would be more fully elaborated here if there were not already available a very satisfactory statement by Leslie L Chisholm¹. In Chapter Nine the role of the specialist is discussed in some detail.

Somewhere in the experience of every youth there must be some interest, some enthusiasm, something that he wants to do that can be promoted in connection with his school life, if teachers and counselors are alert enough and resourceful enough. If not, it may be hoped that in some curricular or co-curricular school activity, or in the program of some affiliated institution—Scouts, church, playgrounds, business houses, or homes—such enthusiasms may develop. These enthusiasms which have been caught or developed furnish the raw materials of guidance.

Guidance is frequently defined as "helping pupils to choose by giving them whatever information and advice they need to become adequate citizens—producers and consumers—in the twentieth-century community." This definition is unsatisfactory, however; it overlooks the fundamental difficulty. Many high school students have no feeling of need and hence no desire to choose. Complacency, inertia, conformity, and amenability are more characteristic of adolescents as we see them in the corridors of the typical high school than are dissatisfaction, discontent—the "divine discontent"—or the urge to improve themselves or their lives. It is not that they are naturally incurious, but they have discovered that frequently there are penalties attached to being inquiring, and the prizes go to the students who smother their curiosity and learn the catechetical answers.

Our theory is based upon the assumption that in every youth

¹ *Guiding Youth in the Secondary School*. New York: American Book Company, 1945, Chapter 17, "The Teacher and the Specialist."

there is a flame, or at least an ember that can be nursed into a living flame, and it is the teacher who will nurse this flame and pile on fuel. It is a flame that can be transformed into steam, the steam into power, the power into directed motion, purposeful activity. The teacher, then, is both fireman and engineer at first. But this living engine, once it is under full steam and started down an open track, will run a long way under its own power.

The role of the teacher in the educative process, so conceived, is a dual one. He manipulates the situations to which the pupils respond, and he acts as guide, philosopher, and friend to his young companions as they engage in the activities which the situations call forth. He seeks to stimulate interests in connection with various projects and experiences of the curriculum; he endeavors to encourage in every student the desire to find out, to plan, to practice, to enjoy, to evaluate, to create whatever the project calls for or makes promising of richer experience.

As previously stated, one great aspect of high school education consists in helping students to set up *for themselves* objectives that are *for them dynamic*, and which the teacher believes to be reasonable and worth while. In this endeavor, the teacher is acting as adviser, and as guide, counselor, and mature friend. Advisement and guidance are thus seen to be an integral part of the daily responsibilities of every progressive high school teacher.

Conventional subject-teaching has held its place for so long a time that this conception of the teacher's functions may seem difficult and revolutionary. Even now, education is too generally assumed to be subject-getting. Success is regularly indicated by promotions and diplomas based on subject-learning. In conventional practice "the curriculum" is the end of the educative process, students "learn" history or "master" mathematics or memorize paradigms. Only alert teachers and administrators conceive the curriculum to be a means, an instrument, for helping students attain individual and social adjustments.

Modern high school teachers and administrators may, how-

ever, be expected to be alert to the opportunities that their *new* institution makes possible. It may be assumed that they will be intelligent enough, vigorous enough, and brave enough to enter zestfully into the adventure of using the curriculum as a means of helping students to attain, through guided practice, the aims that are widely recognized as cardinal.

The amount and kind of such guidance will, of course, vary greatly with different students and under different conditions. Not all students have the same physical needs or resources. Some already are good home members, and some are not. Some have adequate vocational choices and programs of preparation mapped out, but others will soon leave school with neither choice nor preparation. Some have excellent civic attitudes and social practices; others are woefully deficient. Similarly, some are efficient and others inefficient in appreciations, in expressional activities, in scientific attitudes and interests, in practical arts, and in numerical manipulations.

Teacher-advisers need to know the students and their background

It becomes a fundamental duty of every high school teacher, therefore, to know as much as possible about his students. Such knowledge obviously calls for most serious and discriminating effort. It requires more than a glance at a cumulative report card, more than an acquaintance with tests and such mystical symbols as IQ, M A., R Q, and the others. It calls for new fundamental conceptions and practices on the part of the teacher. These, some of which have already been elaborated in the preceding chapters, will be restated here for emphasis.

First, sympathetic understanding involves an appreciation of the social organizations of the community, their increased complexity, their inertias and traditions, the rapidity with which in reality they are changing, and the varying force of their sanctions. Interacting with the school in the lives of the high school youths are homes and neighborhoods, churches and in-

dustrial institutions, economic conditions, and national, racial, religious, and other mores

Second, it assumes an interest in the nature of students, at the dawn of adolescence, the psychological equipment with which they must make their intellectual, emotional, physical, and social adjustments. The biological inheritances of these boys and girls are vitally important—their growth and maturation, the changes in their glandular and circulatory systems, the rhythm of their lives, the uncertainties and hungers and awkwardnesses which are so hard to interpret and which demand so much understanding and patience. Respect for and comprehension of the "ego-impulse," the "self," the unique personality of each pupil, are required. There is necessary a recognition of the student's will as "the expectation of success," and of his need for social approval. Teacher-advisers must understand the mental and emotional conflicts of youths and their resulting "escapes"—sublimations, daydreaming, autoerotisms, enuresis, nightmares, cruelty, bullying, failures, and breaches of discipline. These symptoms are characteristic of failure of the self to feel adequate.

Above all, the teacher must realize that every student has in some degree and in some form a potential spark of genius, and that, if he can only lead each student to make the right contact, universal victory is possible. This is the fundamental dogma of democracy; to it, as schoolmasters in the service of democracy, all must subscribe.

Third, sympathetic understanding requires a frank recognition that the students' out-of-school lives are frequently, perhaps generally, more significant controls of behavior and attitudes than is the school. If the school is to function as a directive instrument of society, it must coordinate its efforts with the out-of-school organizations with which the students are in contact—homes, gangs, Scouts, moving pictures, athletics, newspapers, dances, and the rest—so that it may reinforce, guide, offset, and direct the activities of youths in their out-of-school lives. For if it neglects them or attempts to oppose them

directly, it encourages divided lives, and perhaps a choice of loyalties that may not favor the school

Fourth, it requires, finally, a readiness on the part of each teacher to sponsor the efforts of his students, for only by such means can a partnership and personal loyalty between student and teacher develop

The peak in Darien

Perhaps there is no discovery equal to the one that awaits every classroom teacher. Cortez, when he caught his first glimpse of the great Pacific, was not more surprised nor elated than the teacher who one day early in his career discovers his unlimited opportunities to share in the growing-up process that is going on all around him. The adventure begins, of course, with the discovery that students are persons, that they are growing with an almost explosive quality, and that their cultural growth is often much more vigorous than one would suppose from their answers (or their questions) in subject-matter classes

An example is the case of Walt, as reported by Clarence M Conkling.² Walt was a problem boy, back in school after a short period with the Navy, a period spent largely in a hospital where he had been sent with a heart ailment soon after his enlistment. He had never liked school, and his return to high school after he had been given a medical discharge resulted in a stalemate. The situation resulted in the inevitable conference, and it was then that his teacher discovered that Walt had an interest and a purpose that had not been disclosed before: he liked dogs. He had fifteen cocker spaniels at home. It took a lot of time to take care of them, and Walt had been absent frequently on that account. His one dream was of the day when he would be out of school and could develop his dog kennel and make his living that way. When the teacher and the school got interested in *his* interest, Walt's school work took on another color

² "I'm a Piker—It's So Easy to Underestimate Our Pupils," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (September 1946), pages 17-20

Did he have any books about dogs at home? I had a couple of hounds myself, and I would like to read up on the subject. Sure, he had some books. He had lots of them. He would bring me some. Well, he brought his books and pamphlets and we looked at pictures and talked about dog diseases, feeding of dogs, and dog kennels. Walt unfroze and really proved that he knew a good deal about dogs. In some strange manner the talk got around to kennels and model kennels, and we found pictures and drawings and plans for dog kennels in his books. He had some original ideas that he was hepped up about, and much to his own amazement, Walt wound up by drawing model kennels, runs, and feeding houses—four or five different kinds and sizes. Beyond that he estimated the lumber needed and its cost (at current market price, even though he couldn't beg, borrow, or steal enough lumber to make a matchbox). He did a lot of things he hadn't planned on, things he thought he couldn't do, simply because he LIVED what he was doing. It was part of him.

So Walt's teacher discovered Walt, but what seems quite as important, Walt's teacher discovered something of the glory of teachership and this discovery was confirmed many times by his work with other students who "unfroze" when he took the time and used the occasion to find out what part of the great, humming, roaring world they had somehow chosen for their own province.

It is too bad that we so often fail to discover the signs of interest or even of genius among the students we work with. A biologist would not be unaware of changes that were taking place in the living, growing organisms in his laboratory, but there are more adventures going on in the classroom than we are ever aware of. Our case book has a story that is in point here. It is the story of a boy named Henry, a senior in high school, remarkably unprepossessing and somehow phenomenally indifferent to everything that was going on about him—everything, that is, except door-checks. He would stand in the corridor and watch the doors open and close, the doors that were equipped with the familiar door-closing device. He would watch these endlessly, but he had nothing to say about

them to anyone. Henry's standing in his classes was not improving, and the principal called the boy's father to suggest a conference on tactics that might get Henry back into the spirit of his classes and his preparation for college.

The case record on Henry is not complete, but the interesting detail is that when the boy's father came to the school for a conference he brought along a letter he had just received, written on the stationery of a well-known manufacturer of door-checks, from the manager of the company. It said that Henry had submitted to the company a design for a door-check that incorporated a radically new principle, that the company would like to pay Henry for the design, even though it was not prepared to put the new type of door-check into production; and that it would like to sponsor Henry's college education, if he were interested in preparing himself to be a member of the research staff of the company.

"The operation was a success "

It is an interesting characteristic of much of the writing on guidance that we educators scrupulously avoid describing the cases for which we failed to find an effective cure. In our reports there is so much happy optimism about the potentials of our own devices and such glum misgiving or cynicism or hostility about the other fellow's! We lack the modesty and the frankness of a young physician who replied as follows to a patient who had been quite fulsome in his praise of the doctor's skill: "I do what I can, and I think that in about a third of the cases I treat, I may be of some real help in promoting the patients' recovery; in about a third of my cases I neither help nor hinder; in a third of my cases my knowledge is faulty and I prescribe something that is the wrong thing entirely, but the human body is a marvelous engine and most of these patients I treat badly recover in spite of my ignorance. Nature is the great healer, and I can only hope that I may improve my practice so that I can more often be on her side."

It is so in guidance practice. There are no panaceas. The record of a case is never a complete record. It is never more

than the record of a brief incident, or several related ones, in a process that began before the word "guidance" was ever spoken and will be going on when the word has been forgotten and all that it stands for has been replaced by other practices

The teacher who is not aware of his own errors must be guilty of malpractice, and one of the first principles to learn is that guidance is never a one-man job. There is the student, to begin with; he is an essential part of the procedure in every case. But the student does not live at the bottom of a well. He lives with people at home and in school and in all the other places where he is working out his own destiny. His adjustments are largely social ones, and social adjustments by their nature are reciprocal. To aid him, it may be necessary to attempt to influence some of the conditions to which he must adjust. Indeed, those of us who know how often the home or the school impose unnecessarily stringent and uncompromising regulations must recognize that a good part of our job in the area of guidance consists in finding where the shoe pinches and giving the student some relief.

For every hold there is a break

With all the talk about individual differences, it is rather shocking to realize how frequently the right of the individual to be himself is violated in order to preserve some unimportant regulation. It is a fortunate circumstance, however, that institutional regulations are much more flexible than most students suspect. For every hold there is a break; for every regulation there is usually a way to get around the regulation, if the circumstances warrant the adjustment. The teacher, counselor, and administrator can derive a special kind of satisfaction when they develop the habit of scrutinizing each situation to see whether the problem involved is one that has been created by the demands of a regulation that should not be enforced in the case at hand.

Where the operation of the regulation would serve the student badly, the student's advocate must know several possible

ways to blast the regulation. This act requires, first of all, the strong conviction that the student's welfare is more important than any general rule. It requires also courage and tact and a sense of timing. It requires ingenuity. All these are possible, and for one who has spent much of his time making or enforcing regulations, there is a great sense of accomplishment in the discovery of every instance in which a regulation can be most effectively used by circumventing it. It is assumed here that the school policies and regulations were not found written on tables of gold, but are the flexible working rules developed by administrators and teachers (and students and parents²), all concerned with making the school a functional example of democracy in action.

Guidance demands a democratic school administration

The responsibility for guidance cannot be lightly assumed by the classroom or homeroom teacher; nor can it feasibly be delegated by the administrator to the teachers unless he is able and ready to decentralize his school organization. The conception of advisement and guidance set forth in the preceding pages depends upon a recognition that adequate personnel work demands freedom and time and energy.

It demands that teachers must be responsible for a relatively small number of students; this is peculiarly true for those teachers who deal with dull normal and maladjusted children. It demands at least a period a day when the teacher is free from subject-teaching so that he can deal with personalities without arbitrary distractions involved in subject mastery and "covering of ground." It demands frequent homeroom periods when the teacher and students may deal with problems and projects in which the group feels pride and community of purpose—the organization of a ball team, the preparation of an assembly program, the development of a room library, the choice of room officers and name and motto and cheer, the care of the locker room, and so on. It demands a limitation of the departmentalization of instruction with its attendant emphasis on subject-

teaching and its necessary increase by geometric ratio of the number of student personalities with which each teacher must deal

If teachers are to be more than lesson-assigners, lesson-hearers, and mark-givers, *they must be given responsibilities for the education of their students.* They must be assured of conditions which make education possible. They must be confident that *educational* results will be appreciated and recognized by their superior officers. It is futile to talk about education as guided growth if the whole of a teacher's time and energy is demanded for subject-teaching and if his adequacy is judged by his students' performance on standardized tests of abstract knowledges and skills.

The feeling lives of students are more fundamental than their intellectual lives

The adviser will know that how much youths learn is less important than how they learn it and how they feel about it. He will endeavor to use his opportunities within his group to promote the self-confidence of each student. He will encourage the desire to enter into the activities of the school and the outside world. He will encourage students to imitate with discrimination but to improve, if possible, on their models. He will urge them to compete with other students and groups in contributing to school activities sending poems, articles, jokes to the school paper, suggesting improvements or changes to the student councils or the school administration, striving to win school honors for the group or for individuals within the group.

In the midst of such group activities, reflecting and interacting with community standards and practices, the group will expand its internal life and take shape and attain vigor. In the homeroom there will be debates and discussions of group problems. Some may wish many room officers; some, few or none. Some may feel pride in the room's appearance; some may not care. Some may want a regular order of procedure or a program; some may prefer to study or read or converse or to let

each day take care of itself. Some may respond to self-discipline readily; some may, for a time, think it smart to annoy the teacher or classmates.

In committees, councils, and special boards, analogous differences will appear. Some members will want to consult the wishes of their homeroom groups or clubs or the school administrators; some will prefer to take responsibility for decisions without reference to anyone. Some will desire to experiment with radical procedures; others will be more conservative. Some will desire to expand the size or scope of the group, others will prefer to restrict one or both.

In the classroom, freedom is commonly limited by the general restrictions of the course of study. Nevertheless, there are opportunities enough for vigorous differences of opinion regarding what charts should be made, what problems should have precedence, who should direct a dramatization, how long the class should give a committee to prepare its report, how the demonstration experiment should be presented, and so forth.

In time the personal attitude of approval or disapproval of the tolerant and resourceful teacher-adviser will be immediately effective in giving direction to these conflicting desires. He will, indeed, need to be watchful not to impose, through suggestion or expression, too much of his personal preferences on the group. In the beginning all matters will not be settled as he thinks they ought to be. If the projects are of real significance to the students, however, wrong decisions will soon be corrected on their own initiative.

*Successful guidance takes advantage
of needs as they arise*

In the midst of these varied activities the adviser is watching and studying his students. He has their cumulative report cards, their test records, the lists of their physical defects. He knows their home conditions. He singles out those who lack confidence, those who seem sullen, those who daydream, those who get into disciplinary difficulties. For them he plans many small successes, looking toward larger ones. He gets them to

help him prepare a record or make a drawing or lift a plantbox. He engages them in conversation and discovers their enthusiasms, their knowledge of games, stamps, music, or stories. He finds out about their relations with previous teachers and principals, their out-of-school companionships with other students and with adults, and their educational and vocational and leisure time interests and ambitions. Obviously such acquaintance must not be rushed. It must be cultivated patiently and used tactfully.

Common sense is the best guide. If a boy is nearsighted or hard of hearing, he must be seated in all of his classes where he can see and hear, but without calling undue attention to his difficulty. If he is restless and fidgety owing to physical causes, he must be given frequent opportunities to change his position; if he daydreams, he must be led to undertake work that has concrete outcomes in which he can take pride. If he is very timid, he must be chosen for committees by more vigorous classmates who understand that his contributions call for praise and, if possible, for inclusion in the committee's report of achievement.

In some interest, in some out-of-school activity or relation, in some special ability, every boy and every girl has a potential contribution to make. For the maladjusted student the teacher discovers this and helps him to make the contribution and to receive the merited approval of the group and of his other teachers.

Obviously, however, the adviser does not limit his efforts to his maladjusted students. He is equally interested in the promising talents among those students who are successful. He is alert for the appearance or expression of special talents of the one who can draw or paint, the one who is musical, the one who has creative gifts in oral or written expression, in dramatics, in politics, in mechanics. He helps each student to recognize and utilize his own gift, to seek companionship and advice among teachers and other adults who are most capable of appreciating his ability and encouraging and guiding its development. He helps youths to seek out the avenues of further

education which will enable them best to develop their interests and achieve their worthier ambitions.

To a teacher who has conceived of his ministry in terms of the usual requirements of assignments, recitations, examinations, and reports, this guidance function may appear at first an impossible task, or at best the province of specialists. There will be some teachers whose interest in guidance so overwhelms their interest in the subject fields that they desert the classroom to qualify as guidance experts. The greater number of teachers, however, consider guidance duties a part of an assignment and would gladly turn them over to anybody else who would assume them, so that they might complacently return to their routine of assignments and recitations, familiar ground to them every inch of the way, no *terra incognita* with marshes and mountains of problems and jungles of questions unanswered or unanswerable.

But even if it were entirely logical and convenient, it is not in the stars that the specialist can take over the guidance function. How much of it is his problem exclusively, and how he can best serve in an organized program of guidance—these matters are discussed at some length later in this book (Chapter Nine). But in outlining the guidance role of the classroom teacher, it is relevant briefly to sketch here some of the ways in which the work of the specialist and that of the teacher-adviser (the generalist) are articulated.

"Physician, heal thyself!"

Only a person who is successful is qualified to recognize and commend the success of others; only a person who has the "habit of success," who is frequently successful in accomplishing small purposes, and is reasonably confident he will succeed in some degree in his major purposes and who is himself a wholesome personality is a proper guide for youths.

We have no measures to show what proportion of our teachers could qualify if such criteria were strictly applied. We are assured, however, that in the selection of teachers there must be more attention given to the personality element, even if this must be measured by subjective estimates, grossly approximate.

Also, our supervision must be altered drastically for teachers in service. Too frequently supervision, especially "close" supervision, contributes to the causes that impair the teacher's mental health even to the point of derangement. The traditional procedures widely employed by supervisors are not designed or applied for the purpose of promoting the growth of the whole teacher. They rarely employ satisfaction as it can be employed to cause the teacher to feel successful and willing to try again. Instead, supervision commonly wears the teacher down by small criticisms, nagging, and withholding deserved approvals. A sense of insecurity, futility, and professional indifference results, and this may grow into what we are pleased to refer to as nervous breakdown.

No teacher can save the world single-handed

In the army they have a name for the soldier who is too eager. In the high schools we have no name for young teachers who are impatient because the school does not turn itself inside out and install at once all the brilliant procedures recommended by professors who write the textbooks. "The first forty years are the hardest"—but the first two years of teaching are especially difficult, for during this time, the beginning teacher must learn how to preserve his belief that education is the principal means of escape from social chaos, and must at the same time learn that social change moves almost as slowly as biological evolution.

"What Every Young Teacher Ought To Know" is the title of a short preaching by Irving C. Poley, who has pointed out a few of the principles that we would commend to beginning teachers who are seriously interested in giving effective guidance to their students. Poley, restating part of his list of "little things that aren't in the books," advises young teachers:

1. Don't expect the impossible in yourself. You can't be all things to all pupils . . .
2. Expect the possible. There is almost no skill or talent that can't be put to use in a school. . . .
3. Keep as well as you can. . . .

4. Your mental health is as important as your physical . . .
5. Be a person in your own right. Have outside interests and hobbies. The day is over when a teacher is expected to be a member of a third sex, uninterested in normal social life, without opinions on public questions . . .
6. Try to enjoy something in each student. It does not really matter how much you are liked in return, William James once said that every great teacher must have a willingness to be forgotten. But it matters enormously to young people to be liked and respected, in fact, it is vital to personality growth.³

The teacher should be an educated person

It seems perfectly logical, and it is in general the practice, that the teacher should approximate the optimum achievement of culture that the school proposes for its students ultimately to attain. That is, the teacher in most communities is offered as a pattern. If the community conceives of education as static knowledge, then the teachers will probably be persons whose professional capital consists largely of "facts," the raw material for examinations. In an enlightened community, on the other hand, the teachers will be chosen not only for what they have learned but for what they are curious about. Being educated is a dynamic condition. It has the quality of a mighty rushing river of water, not that of a stagnant pool. Being educated is not so much having the answers to questions as it is questioning those answers and trying for better answers.

The teacher who is in this sense an educated person is a fit companion and guide for youth. He is still growing, still alive, still going places, seeing things, reacting. He has no jealous interest in some dried-to-powder bit of dead knowledge to serve up in small portions as the pabulum for his class. Instead, he is the captain of a foraging party; teacher and students go out together to capture and bring back to their camp all the good things they can find to make up their rations.

In the activities that students carry on, the educated teacher maintains the attitude of the great teachers of painting. They

go about among their students observing this one's work, then another's, giving help here, praising there, and recognizing all the while that the young artist can grow only by seeing better with his own eyes and interpreting better with his own hands. In the high school the same conditions exist: each student must *create* his own knowledge. If the teacher is a good teacher, the student will learn better things than the teacher knows.

Scholarship as a tool, not as a fetish

Assuredly the teacher must know something. To insist on the dynamic quality of education is not to deny the importance of having some facts to work with. It is, instead, to enhance the importance of these facts, for they become, in the newer concept of education, not ends but means. They are important for what they infer, for the uses they suggest. But they have inferences and suggestions only for persons who have acquired the habit of looking at life creatively. Pythagoras looked at his world critically and creatively. Among his many discoveries was the famous theorem about the square of the hypotenuse. For centuries it has been part of the stock in trade of school teachers. It has acquired the deadly respectability of something to be learned. It is in a class with the Constitution—something to “preserve, protect, and defend.” Certainly it has many uses, but it is taught as something to know. For the person who puts some value on life and does his living “on purpose”—that is, with purposes—the excellent theorem has merit only when it serves directly these recognized purposes. Merely *having* knowledge is never, in such a plan for living, a valid purpose.

Scholarship, moreover, is not enough, no matter how well it squares with purposeful living, if it must be conceived as book learning. Since the Reformation the worship of *The Book* has spread to the worship of books in general, and to almost everything that appears in print. But life itself cannot be distilled into words, not even into poetry, something must always remain uncaptured. Scholarship has no power without this extra ingredient. It must be books *plus*. It must be using books.

to interpret phases of life, to enrich life, but for every person there is a limit to which reading and study can be substituted for experience. Words are no more than the shadows of realities, and living too much among these shadows results in a spiritual anemia.

Even appreciation, mainstay of conventional scholarship, requires precise practice; reading about sunsets, sonatas, and scarabs presupposes that whatever appreciation of these is achieved will be spent in actual experience with them. Realistically conceived, appreciation never begins until it is applied—appreciation, that is, which depends upon book learning. Another kind of appreciation, or, more accurately, another phase of appreciation, is that which begins with experience, grows out of experience, is concomitant with experience.⁴ The teacher who is to be a worthy guide for youth must have experienced beauty and ugliness in the raw, and all the other facts of life necessary for a firm grasp on reality. The one who has never looked life in the face but knows its features only as they are hazily mirrored in the pages of textbooks is in some measure unqualified.

This would be true if for no other reason than that adolescents, quite understandably, mistrust the whole tribe of school teachers and are never in the world won over by displays of scholarship. Even those who win from youths the respectful rank of "teacher-friend," with the reservation implied in the hyphen, have not begun to bridge the gulf that we have made. It was for all of his generation that LaVerne Cooke spoke in this poem:

To a Teacher-Friend

I am so young; why do you come
With your cautions and warnings?
Let me live my own little life.
Though short and bitter, strange and unwise,
It shall be my own.

⁴ Reread Rupert Brooke's poem, *The Great Lover*.

I like the flower at my feet
Better than the far mountain,
I can crush it close, even though
I weep with pain when it is broken
But the mountain I can never know like that.

How can you speak so wisely?
Knowing not my life, my desire,
My sorrow, and my joy,
Watching from afar, foreign to
These ecstasies, to you so treacherous.

I like the beaten sand and rushing water
Better than the trodden path—inland
I feel its restlessness, its wandering
Of waters, it is like my heart, seeking—

Glad, laughing, struggling to be unaware—
And yet aware of its futility, but ah!—
Feeling—you know not such wonder in your life⁵

The rushing water and the beaten sands invite not only boys and girls but all who do not fear to leave the traveled road. It is this quality—willingness to go half way to meet adventure—that one must have to be a member of the company of good companions, or to be their guide

There are books and books, but many of the important answers and most of the important questions are to be found written by the point of a plow across a fifteen-acre field, etched by a miner's pick on the purple-black walls of the tomb where he works, embroidered on satin dresses by weary sweat-shop needles, scratched across the coverlet by sick and hopeless fingers. The teacher who has not read some of these has not completed his course, and yet there are other requirements youth sets for its guides "Ecstasies," "feeling," "wonder in your life"—those are hard to get and harder to hold, but who-

⁵ From *Younger Poets*, an anthology of student verse, edited by Nellie B. Sergent, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1932, page 436

ever fails to get them, or gets them and cannot keep them, is unequipped for the march with youth

Design for a new teacher

There are many persons anxious to tell the authors at this point that it is hopelessly impractical to set up such criteria for the training or retraining of teachers. Persons who have such superior qualities will not all choose teaching as a vocation, or will not remain teachers long, and so forth

Admitted. And yet it is necessary, nevertheless, to see in what particulars the teacher we are designing for the 1960's, let us say, differs from the model that was new in 1890. The changes, which are revolutionary, are more easily accomplished because they can be effected by merely using a different set of potentials that most teachers already possess. It is not necessary to use surgery or any other physical means to make the change. Three fourths of the change will be made when autocratic supervisors, holdovers from another tradition in education, can be persuaded to let the teachers use the ideas, the plans, the purposes they have and are not now permitted to use. Very likely not any of us will ever teach as well as we know how to teach; but enlightened methods will not be in general use until supervisors and administrators are more generally competent to recognize the characteristic attitudes and practices that distinguish teachers superior in their capacity for accomplishing the accepted purposes of the new education

The mills of the gods grind slowly. Some time will pass before we can send out engraved announcements of the arrival of the educational millennium. It will not come in the night, it is being built up out of the day-by-day adventures of students and companion teachers

Curriculum Guidance and College Entrance Requirements

MOST LAYMEN and far too many teachers share the conventional notion that guidance is directing students in their election of courses and curricula and advising them in the frequent crises how they may manage their academic affairs so as to avoid failure in some subject or in the whole course. This service is assuredly a part of guidance, but it is not all of guidance, and it is not, in the philosophy elaborated here, the most important phase of guidance. When high school curricula consist largely of subject-matter-to-be-taught, curriculum guidance must be a compromise. There is sometimes little room for choice in the menu we offer our customers—it is equivalent to asking them, How will you have your spinach?

The significant aspects of guidance are to be found in the day-to-day success of the student in his clubs, his athletic participation, his membership in band or orchestra or chorus, his contribution to his group project in mathematics or social science. These experiences are both propulsive and directive, and they are carried on through eight or nine or ten months of the school term, in contrast with the relatively few days or hours scheduled for course elections and curriculum guidance.

Whatever importance is attached to curriculum guidance, it must be done well. It is not done by cabalistic divination, by statistical manipulation, by consulting the student's stars or his tea leaves or by canceling out letters of his name. The guidance specialist may be expected to have some knowledge and a little wisdom to bring to bear in the process, but he has no

second sight. The choice must be the student's own; he must make it with the assurance that it may turn out a bad choice which will have to be discarded or repaired. He must understand that life is too complex, even in high schools, to allow precise controls, and when things go wrong, he must not plan to come whining to his teacher or his counselor.

In a school with reasonably adequate machinery for carrying on a systematic guidance program the selection of curricula and courses frequently is handled in the homerooms. The teachers are supervised or assisted in this work by the guidance counselor or members of the administrative staff. The selection is not accomplished in a single group conference or a single interview, it is a cumulative matter extending over a period of at least half a term, after the students obliged to make a choice have been afforded many opportunities for group discussion and have met the teacher, formally and informally, to consider the personal aspects of the problem.

In a modern school, particularly in the junior high school type of organization, there is seldom any definite curriculum differentiation until the ninth grade. Up until that time the students have been engaged in learning the common integrating subjects. Their education has been generalized, some allowance was made for individual differences, but these allowances were made within the frame of one common curriculum.

During the eighth-grade term the students very likely have been allowed some excursions from the main highway curriculum. They may have gone through as many as half a dozen exploratory courses, known also as sampling courses, courses in fields not represented in their previous school experiences and other courses in subjects they have studied before, but taught with a new intensity the better to test their competence. They may have had a "general language" course or a course in exploratory Latin,¹ and another in junior business training,

¹ An interesting problem is represented in such a course as the exploratory course in Latin. The textbooks and syllabi for this course usually take only the cream, the most interesting and dramatic elements possible in elementary Latin, minimizing drill and translation and parsing. The course is made so palatable that everybody

together with intensive work in the general shop or the home-economics department. Through their experiences in these courses and in special group-guidance classes they have, theoretically, been invited to consider their own special talents and abilities, and they have been given a brief glimpse of possibilities that lie over the academic horizon.

When the time comes for making decisions the students' records of their relative success in these orientation courses will be available for the use of the adviser, together with all the other data, objective and subjective, on the students' progress, their problems, their active interests in school and out, their home and community resources, their physical and emotional history (These items are treated more fully in Chapter Eight.) The selection of a curriculum is an operation that calls for individual conferences, if these can possibly be arranged, in which the student, his parents (both of them, preferably), and the counselor review the student's personal achievements and weigh the advantages of the several curricula offered.

It goes without saying that such a conference must be conducted with the professional skill demanded for a major operation. In relatively small schools (those where the eighth-grade enrollment is somewhere near one hundred) the principal may choose to conduct the conferences, delegating some of his other duties if they are numerous. This first-hand contact with the students and their parents has several pertinent advantages for the head of the school; but he will need to have even more competence for these interviews than would be expected of a member of his staff.

Theoretically there is no reason why the homeroom counselors might not conduct these conferences, provided they have the necessary information, the special skill required to engineer a successful conference, and the interest necessary to carry out

passes, even the pupils clearly recognized as the nonacademic type. If everybody enjoys the course and profits by it and passes, the teacher is pleased, but the exploratory values are partially missing, since there has been no selection. When curriculum elections are made, some students who could never get across Caesar's bridges under their own power choose the academic curriculum and elect Latin, the counselor's advice to the contrary notwithstanding.

what many teachers would consider an extra duty, not a part of the service they are employed to give. If the homeroom counselor has the knowledge of the student that his position allows,⁷ he is frequently better qualified to conduct the conference than any other person in the school. If he has established complete confidence with the student, he may have a better knowledge of the youngster's potentialities and limitations than the parents have, and a more comprehensive understanding of the whole case than the guidance specialist or anyone else could derive from the records. So far as techniques of interviewing are concerned, friendly interest, sincerity, and gumption will be more valuable than a formula. Some specialists in guidance make a great deal of their interview technique employed in private conference with students or with students and parents. But there is a tendency to overshoot the mark, to be too glib, too smooth, too much like the young men who have been drilled in the high-pressure salesmanship by which they sell brushes or aluminum ware or magazine subscriptions. No amount of technique can take the place of a professional interest in the student and his welfare. No circumstances could justify the representative of the school in being arbitrary or inconsiderate of the wishes of the other parties in a guidance conference.

Inevitably some wrong choices will be made, but most of them can be remedied when they are discovered, and the counselor, after some conscientious experience, will discover that his own decisions have not always been the best ones, the wisest ones. Social engineering lacks such reliable controls as are available in mechanical engineering. Guidance, at its most effective level, is still a form of uplift, and when anyone undertakes to shape the pattern of another person's life, it behooves him to proceed with dignity and humility.

The choice of a curriculum may involve the tentative choice of a career. If we take time to be realistic, we appreciate the fact that this is too much to require of an eighth-grade child,

⁷ See Chapter Ten.



From "Your Children and Their Schools," Los Angeles School District

HARVARD REQUIRES NO LATIN

a youngster of twelve or thirteen or fourteen. However, his first decision, if he abides by it, makes him in some degree a specialist and closes to him some vocational avenues not related to the career toward which he has set his aim. If he chooses the academic curriculum, there will not be time enough in his school program to permit him to learn the special skills and knowledge that make up the commercial curriculum. He cannot eat his cake and somebody else's cake too.

If a searching, critical survey of the general practice could be made, it would probably reveal that the election of courses and curricula and careers is accomplished in our secondary schools with such scant regard for relevant factors that it is only by some intercession of providence that things hold together and function as well as they do. It may be that our students are phenomenally versatile and would succeed as well in one course as another. It may be that there is so little significant difference between one curriculum and another that our guidance plans might as well be replaced by a system of choosing sides, or by counting out, eeneey meeneey miney moe, into the general course *you go!*

The classical instance illustrating method of choosing courses is the young collegian who enjoyed sleeping late in the morning and elected Sanskrit as his major because it came at eleven o'clock. Our high school students might be forgiven equivalent injudicious choices when the choices were their own, but there should be a special lake of fire reserved for school officials who allow administrative expediency to determine that a certain number of students must study this subject or that one so that the class schedule will work out smoothly. If shop or laboratory or studio facilities are lacking for a large number of those who need the kind of educational experiences provided there, the principal and his staff sometimes sign up extra students for Latin, algebra, and ancient history, since enrollment in these subjects is so small that conscripts are required to keep them in the schedule. This practice is carried on in the name of education! at public expense! in schools set up to represent the American ideal of democracy!

Early choice of a career

In real truth, a boy does not choose a career, but a career chooses a man. That is, if great men are the product of their times and speak and write and act for their times by reason of pressure from outside of them—and this is a popular theory—then lesser men as well do not choose but are chosen. It is the exceptional person among your friends who, as a boy, saw his destiny written in the stars and followed it through to some bright consummation. Much commoner are the ones who, whether they are wearing the brilliant mantle of success or some paler garment, were jostled into their present niche by what appears to have been wholly fortuitous circumstance.³ The movement is clearly toward the top—toward white-collar jobs, toward the professions and semi-professions. Advancing technology releases more men and women every year from the rigors of hard physical drudgery, they move up to take their places at the lathes and looms, succeeding others who have moved up into some career of social service—nursing, teaching, librarianship, research, homemaking. The vocational trend is up from slavery, up from drudgery, but it is still a relatively slow process. In the old days it was said with conviction that it takes three generations to make a gentleman. It takes as long today. The difference is mainly that in three generations we produce a much higher type of gentleman than the one referred to in the old saying. And it seems a very good thing that there are still some people biologically fit and temperamentally willing to do the hard work that the machines have not yet taken over.

For a youth to have some far-flung ambition, whether it is

³ Typical of instances where the luck element prevailed is the story in our case book, headed "The Boy Who Won a Bugle." When he was twelve he won the bugle at a raffle. He could not play a note, but the bugle gave him entree to the school drum-and-bugle corps. His ability with the bugle won him the opportunity to play a "peck horn" in the school band, successive promotions carried him on to the cornet, the trumpet, the French horn. He is now solo "horn" player with one of the great symphony orchestras, an artist in his field and eminently successful. The Arabs would call it "kismet"—fate. In guidance conferences, it is not considered polite to mention how often "kismet" steals the play.

vocational or avocational ultimately, is sometimes a good thing, especially when it is related to some dynamic feature of his daily living. Properly managed, such a remote projection is valuable for the helpful tug it gives when the student is aground on academic reefs and menaced by the prospect of foundering under the buffeting of daily assignment breakers or a great examination tidal wave. To have chosen a career tentatively, even though the choice is likely to be reconsidered twice a year, is a stabilizing advantage for a youth, it gives him poise and balance by shifting his personal center of gravity a little bit beyond the commonplace events of his daily routine, yet not so far into the future that he fails to identify his present self with his projected vision.

While the selection of a career is always proffered to the child or the youth as a tentative one, he frequently takes the matter in a much more serious mood. He hesitates to decide or to announce his decision, but when he has decided, he may feel constrained to follow through, out of a sense of personal integrity or a wish to avoid the implied defeat of his earlier plan. Constancy and self-assurance and a score of other copybook ideals hold him to his fading vision, and though the whole battle goes on inside of him and has no necessary bearing on his present schedule of activities, it is confusing and demoralizing. In such cases it were better, of course, if the youngster had not been encouraged to make any decision that could be so badly magnified.

A greater disadvantage of encouraging a youth too early to choose a vocation is the fact that he may discover how to use it as a dodge, a clever way of evading his responsibilities. Ella May cannot be asked to help with the dishes, for she is going to be a great musician and must practice her piano lesson. John fails his algebra but rationalizes this defeat by saying that, since he is going to be an artist, he has no use for algebra. Another seventh-grade youngster has shown such an interest in chemistry that his parents have engaged a tutor to meet him twice a week, and the boy uses his assumed precocity in chemistry to justify his failure in his seventh-grade subjects.

Choices hinge on X—unknown factor

If the student is allowed to make the choice, the counselor must be worldly enough to appreciate that the student may not know what is good for him. Indeed, he may know what is good for him and may choose something else entirely. He may have complete confidence in the counselor's ability to weigh him mentally and measure him morally, and yet he may be impelled to reject as foreign to his purposes the curriculum or the career for which the counselor knows he is naturally endowed. Adults as well as adolescents are guilty of this rebellion against our objective techniques, and it is a great strain on the counselor's professional training to avoid being offended by these impious people who prefer their own counsel. For an understanding of the values of x and y , unknown quantities, so far as the counselor is concerned in this personnel equation, we may refer to the opinion of a psychiatrist recognized as an authority in this field, Dr. George K. Pratt.

The very foundation of modern psychiatric belief rests on the assumption that it is impossible to lift a single area of an individual's life (such as his vocational fumblings) out of the matrix of the whole and treat that area as a separate, detached, and unrelated part. Rather does the psychiatrist insist that the intellectual, physical, emotional, and work activities of a human being are merely ramifying aspects of one indivisible reactive whole, and that this constitutes a dynamic and ever changing integration, sensitively responding and adjusting itself to each of the myriad forces that continually play upon it. Numerous opportunities are daily being missed to be of real help to maladjusted individuals, and . . . not a few lives are being ruined because of failure to coordinate the intellectual and the vocational aspects of clients' being with their emotional possibilities for acceptance or rejection of the vocational or counseling advice that is given them.

Each new accretion of scientific knowledge concerning the motivations behind the behavior of any individual reinforces the belief that intelligence and logic play relatively minor roles in much human adjustment, and that such motivations all too often have their real roots embedded in unrecognized emotional cravings.

Thus is explained the common experience of proffering perfectly sound vocational advice to an individual, advice based on careful test results and so thoroughly sensible that the client's logic and intelligence have no difficulty in accepting it, but advice, nevertheless, which he mysteriously and stubbornly fails to put into effect. In such instances—and they are far more common than many suspect—the soundness of the advice has been intellectually accepted but emotionally rejected. It is something like the old adage about leading a horse to water but being unable to make him drink.

... It is essential in order to complete the job to integrate the vocational or counseling findings with those of the client's other needs, and then to clear up any emotional barriers that may prevent him from applying these findings to his own difficulties.⁴

In practice, then, the counselor must attempt to shape his counsel so that it will come somewhere near conforming to the personality pattern that the client has evolved for himself. The alternative, of course, would be to alter the personality to fit the recommendation, which in many cases would be a superior adjustment but not practicable in the time limits imposed. For instance, here is the case of a youth who had, according to his grade record as well as his test record, a phenomenally keen aptitude for mechanics. In book subjects, including mathematics, he was mediocre. It was clear as to what he should prepare to do, but he had some "fool notion" that he wanted to be a certified public accountant. He charted his own course, the counselor lost a customer, and the world got an indifferently good accountant in exchange for a mechanical genius. The counselor, even if he perceived the emotional bias in favor of a white-collar vocation, had no techniques for modifying the chain of habits and values and desires that was foundational to the personality of the young mechan'e.

⁴ Seeing the Individual Whole," *Occupations*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (November, 1934), pages 108-113.

Proof of the pudding

In some degree it is true that the curriculum is guidance, and the vocation is guidance. Fortunately, life is not a great sweepstakes lottery in which each person has one ticket and a chance in a million to win. Life is an experiment, a trial-and-error process. A generous number of errors is allowed, but progress depends on guessing right most of the time and acquiring such a momentum that an occasional unwise choice does not bring one to a dead stop. Curricula and careers provide only a negative kind of guidance, however, those who fail may be eliminated, screened out, culled as unfit, but those who get by or those who succeed brilliantly have no way of knowing whether they might not have succeeded as well or better if they had made some other choice. The mechanic who became a certified public accountant has not, by the permissive degree of success he has won in the vocation of his own choice, disproved the counselor's estimate of his superior fitness for a wholly different type of work.

Conspicuous waste

Veblen pointed out years ago that many people in our culture subscribe to the doctrine of conspicuous waste. It is in the same spirit, perhaps, that we continue to allow such a large waste of time and of life-essence in the academic liturgies that some schools and colleges prescribe. But conspicuous waste as a way of life is on the wane, and it is doubtful whether even the most plutocratic youths can afford to invest so much time speculatively on the prospects offered them with grave assurance by those scholarly professors whose main interests lie somewhere between Cheops and Columbus. For effective living today a knowledge of Latin is no more necessary than a knowledge of Esperanto, and either language would serve well enough as an avocational pursuit; but what irony there is in the preference of those who delight in reading the classical "humanities" while they remain stodgily indifferent to the

humane interests that occupy all of us who are living intellectually in our own times! We can afford the luxury of having some "scholars" of this type, but we could never dare to allow them to prescribe the pattern for the scholastic or collegiate education of our youths.

In fairness to the classicists, it should be noted that stringent requirements are not always in the ancient languages. Mathematics is sometimes offered as another high hurdle for college entrance; and for graduation from college all sorts of required subjects are prescribed, from "Bible" to swimming. Our point is that any requirement may be either justified or condemned according to how many exceptions are allowed; the requirements should be sacrificed in some cases, rather than the students. But this flexibility is not common.

As an example of the inflexibility of requirements, consider the case of Jane. She had been deaf from birth, but by the aid of brilliant and sympathetic instructors in a special school for the deaf she had become so adept at lip-reading that she was able to attain academic proficiency considered normal for her age. She was reasonably happy and well adjusted when she entered high school. At present, however, Jane is at a great disadvantage, for she is failing the course in "music appreciation" required for graduation! There is a possibility that the requirement will be altered in her case, for she has never in all her life heard a note of music. But the gross institutionalism of the school in which she is enrolled has permitted this girl to be assigned to a required course in which she could not participate successfully.

Somewhat more typical of the way in which stringent requirements are sometimes enforced is the case of Dick Carson.⁸ Dick failed his freshman algebra. He repeated the course, and he failed again. In his other high school subjects he was successful, particularly so in English. His parents decided that he might pass his algebra if he were transferred to some other school. He was sent away to an exclusive private preparatory

⁸ A detailed statement of this case is given in the first edition of *Guidance by the Classroom Teacher*, pages 109 et seq.

school, and there he was again notably successful in English, reasonably successful in most of his other subjects, and conspicuously unsuccessful in first-year algebra. He completed the college preparatory course—with the exception of algebra—and was admitted to a college of superior academic standing. His admittance was conditional, of course, he must make up the algebra requirement. At the end of two years in college he had become well known for his proficiency in writing, but he had not won credit in first-year high school algebra.

He went abroad to study at the Sorbonne, his accomplishments in writing having won him a scholarship there. He had some very enlightening experiences abroad, but he came home in two years without having qualified for a degree. His parents, gratified with the progress he had made in his literary pursuits, were still anxious to have him win a baccalaureate degree. Some investigation by his father disclosed that Dick might attend a college near his home where he could, within one term, earn a degree *without* algebra. Dick and his father went to call on the dean to discuss the arrangements for Dick's matriculation. The dean was cordial and very sympathetic about the apparent injustice that had been wrought by the algebra requirement, but when he reviewed Dick's transcript of credits earned in the college he had attended earlier, he discovered that the young man had not taken English Composition I, which would be required, he said, before Dick could qualify for a degree. Dick and his father both thought the requirement unreasonable, in view of his proficiency in writing. They left the dean's office without having arranged for Dick's matriculation.

A month or so later Dick's first book was published. He is now an established author. He writes about two books a year, books that are acclaimed by the critics and bought in such numbers that he has a substantial income. But he has not passed first-year algebra, nor English Composition I.

This case, if it seems too bad to be true, is true, nonetheless. It is related with the emphasis placed where it will best demonstrate the ironies of scholastic and collegiate exactments. It is

not offered, of course, to demonstrate that requirements should be abolished altogether, but only that they should be applied with intelligence, understanding, and a full sense of human values. Effective guidance will in some measure mitigate the hazards to which a student is exposed. The counselor's job is somewhat like that of the golf "pro," who helps his pupil as well as he can to keep out of the rough and out of the traps, to keep his score low. He shows him what club to use and how to play the ball when he gets into difficulties.

When to choose a college

The disadvantages of choosing a vocation too soon, as discussed above, are paralleled by the disadvantages of deciding too early on which college one will attend, especially if the college chosen is one that has a large number of specific subjects prescribed for admission. Positive guidance procedure depends on postponing the choice of a specific college until the student has fully explored his own aptitudes and plumbed the depths of various enthusiasms. Institutions of college grade are so numerous and so diversified that there is little danger that any youth of good ability and great earnestness would be denied college opportunities.

"Going to college" is still generally interpreted to mean attending a liberal arts college, though the liberal arts institutions are far outnumbered now by colleges of engineering, music, fine arts, agriculture, journalism, commerce, and education. The high school student who is given a fair chance to become informed about the advantages of these other institutions will not always choose in favor of liberal arts. Where the student is impelled by the school or his parents to follow the academic stereotype of early planning to enter a certain restricted liberal arts college, he will find his program of studies made up so largely of the traditional academic prescriptions that he will have small chance to discover his potential interest or aptitude in art or music or the other fields not favored in the program to which he is committed. Early choice of a college and the elec-

tion of courses in preparation for it may thus be the very antithesis of true guidance.

The choice of a college is frequently determined according to a family tradition: father went to Harvard, the boys go to Harvard; mother went to Bryn Mawr, the girls are destined for Bryn Mawr before they have their eyes open. This tradition does not always operate, but it is usually the case in families that maintain their associations with an "exclusive" college for the social prestige they expect to derive. From the guidance point of view the system is likely to be of small advantage to the student whose college is so chosen for him. The disadvantages are not merely those which follow from the fact that the choice is made without regard to preferred criteria, the disadvantages are owing to the circumstance that families governed by traditions are usually identified with colleges governed by traditions—the more conservative colleges with the longest list of subjects prescribed for entrance. If mother is a Wellesley girl, the infant daughter may be registered at birth for all of the "advantages" that Wellesley specifically requires, and the girl-child will spend the first eighteen years of her life being prepared for college. As a guiding rule for her conduct when she is in doubt, she must ask herself not only, What would Mother say? but also, What will Wellesley require?

School officials may be exonerated from blame for the waste of precious time when the rigmarole of traditional entrance requirements has been chosen by the student on the advice of his parents. But who will answer for the sins committed against numberless youths who, because of ignorance or expediency, have been advised by teachers or counselors to submit themselves for the ordeal of trial-by-monotony when there was no such subject requirement as the school pretended there was? There are only a few reactionary colleges, but the general practice in guidance appears to take its clue from these rather than from the great number of institutions that are reasonable and realistic in their admission requirements. In too many high schools, the academic and general ones espe-

cially, college preparatory guidance is premised on an arbitrary, artificial, confused, and senseless organization of requirements derived from traditions, personal prejudices, blind faith in mystical values assigned to certain subjects, and the vested interests of teachers and professors who must teach what they know regardless of its significance to anyone else.

Requirements misinterpreted, students misinformed

In the welter of contradicting requirements maintained by colleges in the name of "standards," the influence of the most conservative, socially restricted colleges and of their often super-reactionary admissions committees outweighs the readiness of more intelligently conceived institutions to permit high school faculties to attend to the education of high school students. Thus, if Bryn Mawr requires three units of Latin, it matters little that dozens of excellent colleges require none. The fact, or the fear, that a girl suddenly might decide to go to Bryn Mawr at the time of high school graduation drives cautious administrators to recommend or even to require that all who might possibly desire to go to any college shall meet the entrance requirements for Bryn Mawr. Thousands of high school *boys* are thus enrolled in college preparatory courses for Bryn Mawr!—in the sense that they are compelled to complete high school "preparatory" curricula that few other colleges require.

When the student is engaged in choosing a college by comparing objectively their advantages for him, he should get authentic information, preferably from their catalogs, not from guess or hearsay; in case of doubt, specific questions should be addressed to the college in question.

In conclusion, it is obvious that we can hardly hope for more than a poor compromise in the guidance cases we handle where every issue is prejudged by the parents on the basis of values widely different from those we accept. Nobody has developed as yet guidance techniques that will enable us to be of service to the unfortunate students whose birthright has been bartered for an interminable cycle of drills and examinations, whose

youth is heavily mortgaged for the doubtful advantage of being admitted one day to a certain liberal arts college, where the mental pabulum will be another cycle of drills and examinations, larger portions of mental-discipline spinach and academic roughage. But the others, the many others who come to us for information and advice, we must help them select wisely. If our counsel is good, it may not be asked of them: "Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? And your labor for that which satisfieth not?"

The student examines the colleges

If there is a college just across the street or anywhere quite near, the family may decide that William or Margaret must attend the local college. By this expedient the cautious mother keeps the young bird a little longer in the nest. If the local college is one that specializes in agriculture or chiropractic or pedagogy, then some special merit is discovered in the special work it offers, and the student's vocation, as well as his college, is geographically determined. Other things being equal, there are advantages, of course, to attending a college reasonably near one's own home; but other things are rarely equal, and the counselor will be wise to throw his influence on the side of the student if the case is one where the best development of the youngster depends upon his getting away from home. For many students the larger part of the advantages represented in a college education are the opportunities to make their own decisions, to escape the infantile dependence thrust on them when they live at home.

The junior college movement is an aspect of the college-at-home trend, and it is not unlikely that the increasingly great number of youths who must be given some part of their college education at public expense will be enrolled in junior colleges during the coming generation.

There is nothing permanent about the present public-school organization into twelve grades, the extension of our system to provide junior college work (grades thirteen and fourteen) for all deemed qualified is a possibility for which there is al-

ready much evidence. Indeed, the number of municipalities that now support their own universities at public expense (New York, Akron, Cincinnati, and the others) rather indicate that in another generation we shall find local opportunities even more extensive than those contemplated by the advocates of the public junior college.⁶

There is nothing sacred about the "traditional" organization of education into eight years of elementary schooling, four years of secondary schooling, and four years of undergraduate college study. The 8-4 plan of organization still predominates; it is still the modal plan. Even the strong impact of the junior high school movement has, after almost a generation of experimenting, failed to convert the public schools to the 6-3-3 or the 6-6 type of organization.

But it would be a mistake to judge that the traditional 8-4 organization must continue to be the pattern. Current writing on the subject shows the extensive interest in another and more radical departure from the 8-4 organization. This new plan is popularly referred to as the 6-4-4 plan, the first six grades representing elementary schooling, the next four grades representing secondary schooling (for early adolescents), and the upper four grades representing an amalgamation of the eleventh and twelfth grades with the newer thirteenth and fourteenth grades. These four upper grades, providing for the special needs and interests of the later years of adolescence, are referred to as "the new American college."⁷

The accumulated pressure to change the traditional 8-4 plan and to provide an organization that is in keeping with the philosophy, the methods, and the resources of our times is likely, sooner or later, to break the back of the tough old plan. It is not that logic or evidence or professional zeal will prevail;

⁶ See *Education for All American Youth*, Educational Policies Commission, Washington, D. C., National Education Association, 1944. The authors of this interesting document on postwar education took for granted the desirability of extending public education to include two "grades" above the twelve grades that at present represent the general practice in public school organization.

⁷ Cf. John A. Sexton and John W. Harbeson, *The New American College* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946); Leonard V. Koos, *Integrating High School and College* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946).

it is rather that social conditions and social forces dictate some change, some extension upward of educational opportunities. For a few years it will be the returned veterans who, under the "G.I. Bill of Rights," require educational services not at present adequate to meet the demand. When the veterans have been taken care of, the idea of the 6-4-4 plan, or some other extension of public education, may have taken root all over the country. The colleges and junior colleges established to take care of the veterans will not all be continued, nor will they all be dissolved. The idea may take root, even though some of the temporary colleges must disband.

From the long view, there is much that is significant here for all persons who are preparing for careers in guidance and personnel administration. In the new American college, which may become within a generation as common as the public high school is today, there will be less interest in subject matter than has been consistently shown by the traditional liberal arts college. There will be, by contrast, more interest in the individual student, and more concern about helping him to engineer his resources for a successful and socially valuable career.

There is no reputable educator who claims that every youth must be given a college degree at public expense. It is contemplated that the extension of public education to include two more grades or four more grades will entail the efficient selection of students who can profit by additional education of the kinds offered. Moreover, it is probable that this education will be, for a considerable number of students, designed to include practical experience leading toward careers in semitechnical vocations, in industrial and commercial supervision and management. The personnel staff adequate to carry on such a program will probably be larger and better than the staff of the conventional subject matter college or the staff of the conventional subject matter high school.

These matters may seem merely of speculative interest now, but perhaps in education it is later than we think, and guidance specialists who get preoccupied with routine chores will look up one day to find that the future has overtaken them.

Postwar guidance complications

At the present time, the secondary schools and colleges of the country have not been able to expand their facilities or their offerings to accommodate adequately the great numbers of students who have resumed their education after the interruption necessitated by the war. The so-called "G I Bill of Rights" has made it possible for hundreds of thousands of former service men and women to receive training or education—depending on the interests, aptitudes, and scholastic qualifications of the individual—at government expense.

The colleges were swamped with returned veterans who entered or returned to college with an eagerness, a sense of urgency, and a high seriousness that was in sharp contrast with the affected indifference, the educate-me-if-you-can attitude, of many undergraduates. The veterans, of course, were not all of one high level of aptitude, and it is claimed in some quarters that academic standards had to be lowered to make allowances for the less apt ones, especially for those who had lost some of their academic skills while engaged in the very different business of training or fighting.

The colleges were under moral obligations to make room for the veterans. Moreover, the veterans were cash customers. For all who could meet the entrance requirements and could maintain at least a minimal standard of achievement, the federal government stood ready to pay in advance for tuition and other fees. It was money on the barrel-head. This was not only an exciting condition for college administrators who had suffered through some very lean years, but it resulted in unlimited complications for all high school guidance workers who were responsible for piloting college-preparatory students into colleges of their choice.

In many cases the high school graduate is extremely fortunate if his guidance counselor can manage, by hook and by crook and by a sharp eye for all the possibilities, to get him into a college that would have been his fifth or sixth choice, or no choice at all. The colleges have had to place some ceilings on

enrollments; classrooms and laboratories, even when operated on a platoon system, can accommodate only so many students. There was, in addition, the problem of teaching personnel, for college instructors and professors could not be secured on demand. The result was a kind of academic inflation: high school seniors found that college entrance standards went up and up. Colleges that, in 1943, would have accepted gladly any student who had an academic average of 75% were, in 1947, requiring an 85% average as the minimum for entrance.

The authors do not propose to offer here any of the craft secrets by which a guidance counselor may overcome these difficulties. For one thing, the situation is still in a state of flux. New colleges are being established to relieve some of the pressure on the older ones. Many veterans who took up their option on a college education are already chafing under the difficulties they have experienced in keeping up with their classes. Other veterans have already completed the courses they needed for graduation from college and are now in the competition for jobs or for business or professional opportunities. Many "marginal" colleges—stitutions that would have been judged third- or fourth-rate—have, in response to the boom market in education, brought their resources up to such a level that they are equal to those of the more favored colleges.

The details of our foreign policy have not yet taken shape, but it seems inevitable that we must provide trained troops for the occupation of Germany and of Japan for some years to come. Whether replacements for the Army and Navy are secured by draft or by voluntary enlistment, the demand is for young men, high school graduates preferred. Therefore, the guidance specialists must continue for some time to share the confusion and perplexity that beset the high school seniors. There is no satisfactory way to chart a career when there are so many contingencies to consider.

Some will go to college, some to Korea

If the peace of the world requires that we send our sons to foreign countries for service with the occupation forces, it is

to be hoped that this duty will be required of young men of all social and economic levels. It has been urged that college students should be "deferred." It would be palpably undemocratic if draft regulations permitted the exemption of youths from the levels that could most easily afford to buy the opportunity to attend college.

The guidance specialists, of course, do not determine who may be required to serve and who may be allowed exemption. But the public high schools, maintained at public expense for the perpetuation and improvement of our democratic principles, must encourage in every youth an awareness of his duty to serve—his *privilege* to serve—wherever and however he can serve his country best. Guidance for high school youths should do something more than bid them to be reconciled to their lot if, as a matter of national policy, it is necessary to draft into the military service a considerable number of young men who are just at the age when they would otherwise begin their college studies.

If the peace of the world requires that our sons take their turn in policing the areas where war might break out again, then it is certain that this onerous duty must be performed well. Whether they are volunteers or conscripts, soldiers for this special task must have a sense of its importance. The public high school, for some years to come, must provide experiences through which students will understand the price we must pay for peace. Peace cannot be bought outright, however much we have paid for it; until the millennium, peace must be paid for in annual payments, and money alone is not enough to meet these payments. Whatever it costs, peace is not a luxury. It is as much a necessity as light or water or earth or any of the other primary necessities upon which we depend for group or individual prosperity.

It would be an easy matter to draw up a long list of the advantages to be gained by the youth who invests a year or two or three in the military service; it would be easy to draw up such a list, and it would be easy to exaggerate the advantages. We know the monotony of garrison duty. We know the

moral and intellectual hazards of army life. They are hazards as real as the physical hazards a soldier must face in battle. Guidance for high school boys must contain something that will mitigate the moral and intellectual hazards to be faced by those who go to serve their turn in the outposts where we have lately taken on a large share of "the white man's burden."

Cynicism prevails in some places; indifference in others. Too few citizens have subscribed to the principles represented by the United Nations. Up to now there is no United Nations constabulary, no armed force that is prepared to fight for peace. When we, the citizens of the United States, declare our faith in the United Nations, we can drop out of the futile struggle for military supremacy. In the schools we can guide our youths in terms of hope, not hate, in terms of living in a creative world, not of dying to defend the right to destroy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Vocational Guidance in a Shifting World

IN POINT of fact, guidance historically earned its right to a place in educational thinking through its association with vocations. It connoted choice of a life work, orientation in a field of occupations, decision in an economic situation. It provided a chart, a guidebook for exploration in a confusing environment. It aided the individual in a complex society. It was the first groping for release from the thraldom of competition in a surplus economy. In its vocational sense guidance takes on a maximum of meaning, at least for the child. Health and morals are vague, even undesirable goals in the eyes of many children; but they all understand the necessity for a job that will sustain life, and, incidentally, health and morals. During adolescence it is a powerful motive which is utilitarian only in the sense that it is useful. So, vocational guidance becomes a powerful aid to educational guidance"¹

Dr. Keller's eloquent paragraph will serve very well as an introduction to this chapter. He has made quite clear that, no matter which aspects of guidance we teachers believe most important, it is the vocational aspect that is singularly important to youths. In the following pages we shall offer not an abstract of the great number of valuable books on occupational guidance but, instead, some fundamental considerations commonly elided. We shall here emphasize some factors of the social-economic world which condition the effectiveness of the counselor's work.

¹ Franklin J. Keller, "Editorial," *Child Study*, Vol. XII, No. 6 (March, 1935).

. Vocational programs, courses in vocations, and vocational assemblies doubtless encourage pupils to think seriously about their careers. It is generally true, however, that it remains for the placement officer to give the first really significant vocational advice in terms of possible jobs to youths who are leaving school either at graduation or before. Indeed his efforts are not often very successful, for, too frequently, youths of fourteen to eighteen are influenced by initial wage and parental preferences rather than by the healthfulness or educational nature of work that appeals to the placement officers as important.

More effective guidance may be given by follow-up officers, but general high schools too seldom provide for such a function. Some schools are now following up their graduates.

Many trade schools and some general high schools encourage their graduates to keep the school's personnel officers informed regarding their vocational progress, and the schools are glad to advise their graduates regarding decisions that must be made. Most of those who report, however, are vocationally well placed, the less fortunate ones, who might be helped, do not often communicate with the school.

It seems evident that the next great step in vocational guidance must be the provision of more adequate placement facilities and the follow-up of all pupils who have attended public schools. In states that have extended compulsory school age to sixteen, seventeen, or eighteen, such placement and follow-up is an obvious responsibility of school guidance officers until the youth reaches the age limit. The need of youths for vocational counsel is, however, quite as real during later adolescence.

Economic perspective for counseling

Our practice in vocational guidance is largely a fair-weather practice. This is understandable, for our principles evolved largely during the first third of this century, when the market for services of all kinds was rather consistently on the up-swing. When there were jobs a-begging and every person willing to work could have some kind of employment, the business of guiding youths vocationally seemed almost too

simple. The boy who wanted to be a plumber was assured that if he could meet the rather rigid and restrictive requirements set by the school and those set by the trade union, he would have employment as a plumber. For scholarly students there was only the matter of some years of study and examinations until they would be practicing at one or the other of the learned professions. For the great number of students whose natural endowments and social advantages were limited, there were jobs and jobs, as shipping clerks, as garage helpers, as domestic servants, as waiters, truck drivers, elevator operators. Work was abundant, and the fellow who was constitutionally lazy or temperamentally indisposed to work had to exercise some ingenuity if he was to avoid being trapped into a job.

Those were halcyon days for our counselors, and now those days are gone, forever, perhaps. Everything appears to be adrift in the world. All our certainties evaporate in our hands, and volcanic new problems erupt under our feet.

In real truth, it is we and our man-made world that are out of control. If we manage ultimately to get matters under control, it will be when we are back in step with the stars and the tides and the seasons. The astronomers predict accurately to the second star eclipses that, having occurred a thousand years ago, will appear tonight, but millions of Americans are not sure of tomorrow's breakfast.

As these lines are written (May, 1948) there are daily crises that seem overwhelmingly difficult of solution. If there are historians a hundred years from now, they will see quite clearly what should have been done to resolve the issues we have created for ourselves. Certainly, one of the contributing causes of the moral crisis today is the morbid moth-and-flame impulse of many persons who think an atomic war is inevitable and not only are reconciled to it but seem to have a childish curiosity to see for themselves how much horror the world can endure.

In this text we offer no plan for vocational guidance that will be useful if the prospect for a general peace collapses and we find ourselves, for whatever reasons, swept into the

ultimate catastrophe. To be realistic one need not be militaristic. To assume that we shall not have another war is not treason. A belief in the possibility of peace obliges one to plan in terms of peace. Education is not education if it is based on the fallacy that war is inevitable because it is human nature to fight and that human nature cannot be changed. It is true, as Howard Mumford Jones points out, that our century, even before we have reached the mid-century mark, has seen more slaughter than any other century in recorded history. But the technology that has made warfare more savage than anything the primitive savages knew has its counterpart in technological developments that increase the possibility of establishing understanding throughout the world.

Vocational guidance will not save the world—not by itself. But in whatever degree guidance is a phase of education, it is in the contest to avert catastrophe. Young men and women who have learned to see their own prospects as conditions of a world at peace will not be traduced by the war whoops of professional jingoists. Until or unless we exhaust every available tactic for securing the peace, we have no right to abandon our duty to guide youths toward careers for peace.

Socio-economic change and its effect on vocational guidance

Western civilization, economically considered, is less than a thousand years old. Under the feudal system that preceded it, each little community was almost self-supporting. Except for its military and political and religious relations to overlords, temporal and ecclesiastical, it was largely self-contained. There was but one important industrial class, the serfs, who were farmers, servants, and unskilled workers serving their lords.

Gradually, owing to many causes—the Crusades, improved roads and means of travel, and the assertion of royal powers that led to better community order and to the establishment and administration of nationally accepted laws and standards—manufacture and trade grew up. Then the three classes of workers became differentiated into traders, skilled workers, and

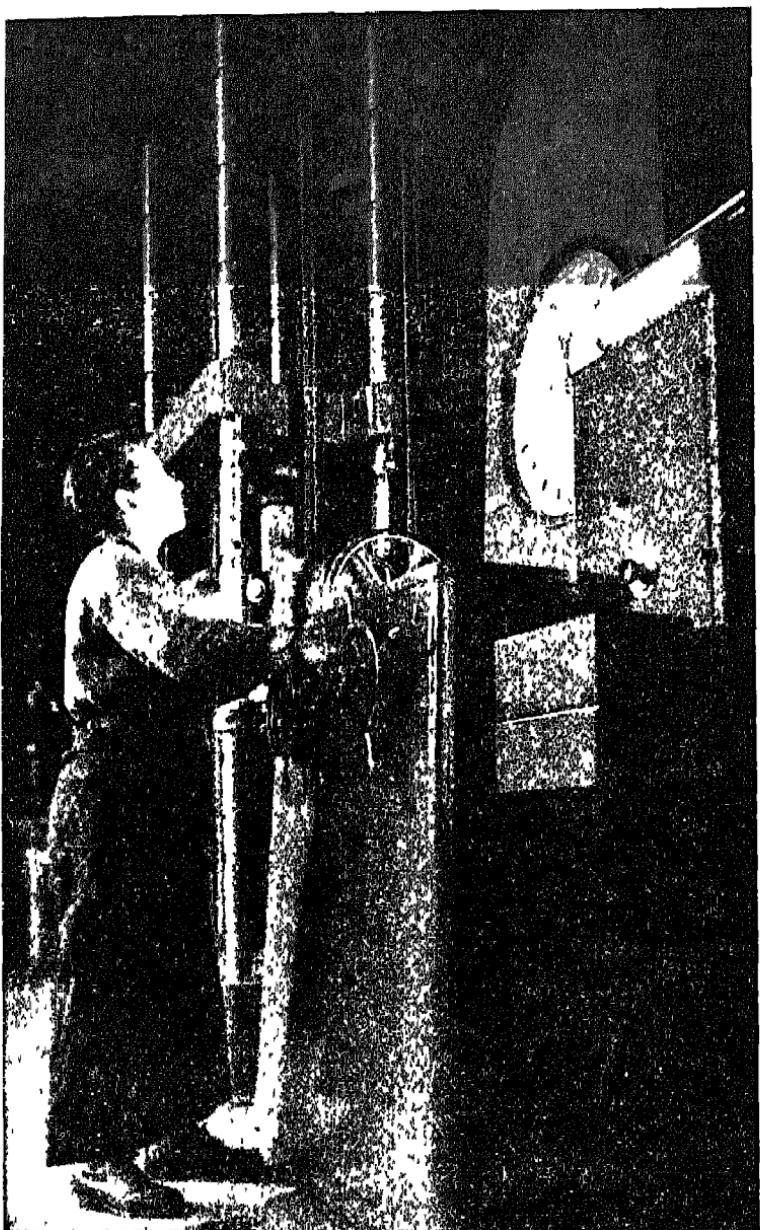
farmers. For staples, markets were established where raw and finished goods could be exchanged under the protection of a noble or a king. These exchanges led naturally to the acceptance of commercial laws and currency and to demands for special products. Traders bought and sold the products of farmers and craftsmen, transporting them wherever they would bring greatest returns. Later they employed craftsmen to produce goods for them to market, supplying raw or semifinished materials and eventually providing factories and machinery and power to run them.

For this entrepreneurship and capital investment and risk, they reimbursed themselves from the sale of the goods produced. They even "staked" the craftsmen by paying them wages for their work without waiting for the products to be finished and by furnishing them with houses and tools and services that the craftsmen could not have supplied for themselves. But the traders collected rent or percentages or rates for all that they supplied and were thus repaid handsomely for their efforts and their investments.

✓ Rapidly capitalism became the dominant force of the modern world, replacing monarchy and militarism first by gaining the actual power over economic life, and then by peaceful or violent revolutions legalizing that power through parliaments, laws, courts, and the instruments of controlling public opinion—press, pulpit, schools, and colleges.

The only limit to profits for capitalism was competition implied in the processes of *laissez faire*. So long as these processes actually functioned, every gain in efficiency and every readiness or ability to take a smaller percentage of profit per article produced or distributed tended to drive out of business the entrepreneur or trader who was unwilling or unable to equal the lower price or the better quality or the greater appeal of the article offered by his competitor.

Until after the middle of the nineteenth century the rugged individualist dominated capitalism and hence the Western World. Even when the rugged individualist had attained power, however, his success did not satisfy him. His restless



From "All the Children," 38th Ann Rept, Supt of Schools, City of New York

TODAY'S BOYS MUST OPERATE TOMORROW'S MACHINES

energy drove him on to gain greater control of productive processes and the market than mere efficiency and bold entrepreneurship could supply. Since he found that the doctrine of competition by which he had succeeded now got in his way, he proceeded to revise the doctrine. He formed combinations with his more powerful competitors, established stable prices, forced the less powerful competitors to join his corporation or perish. He used the force of his corporation's purchasing power to wring concessions from the railroads, the raw-material producers, the owners of buildings, and the distributors of finished products. He bribed legislatures, corrupted governments, supplied politicians and political parties with "the sinews of war," and sometimes he even commanded the courts and the military forces to do his bidding.

Within the merged corporations or trusts, power eventually passed from the rugged and amoral individualists to the clever inside groups of conspirators. By taking advantage of the inertia of stockholders, of their inability to attend meetings, and of their lack of knowledge or understanding of corporation business, directors were often selected who owned very little stock in the corporations that the board of directors controlled. They employed managers to carry on the business, while they directed the economic policies. In many cases they enriched themselves personally without regard to the welfare of the stockholders whom they were supposed to represent, or even of the business that they controlled. They pyramided holdings, created artificial holding companies to skim the cream of the profits from corporations, then established superholding companies that took advantage of the high market values of securities in the holding companies and in those paper holding companies which enjoyed large incomes but which performed no public business function whatever.

Meantime, publicity and advertising had become arts by which trade names and "built-up" personalities were introduced to the public mind in such ways as to increase and stabilize the demand for trade-marked goods. Once the potency of this instrument was understood, it was used to create good will for

corporations or policies, with no more regard for realities of value than had the "ballyhoo" for trade-marked goods. By means of it the public mind became an instrument on which the clever insiders played any tune they called.

Constructive limitations of *laissez faire* have been advocated by progressive producers and distributors. During the 1920's, in America, there came the recognition of the importance of consumption power, if mass production were to find outlets. High wages to workmen and low prices for products as ways of increasing profits would have sounded strange to the classical defenders of *laissez faire*, nevertheless, it was on this basis that the Ford Motor Company was built up, and its example was followed somewhat tardily and far too conservatively by other manufacturing concerns. Had the many corporations that employed great numbers of workers moved more vigorously and rapidly in this direction, probably the country would not have been forced into prolonged depression.

Expanded industrial or distributive services need mass consumption to employ their factories, stores, machines, and staffs economically. Mass consumption is possible only if employment is almost universal and wages are generous. Nevertheless, such a policy, though it obviously conforms to intelligent self-interest of capitalists as a whole, is not immediately of maximum advantage to the individual concern or to the individual capitalist.

There are four important reasons why many firms and individual employers did not join in the movement for higher wages.

1. The employees do not necessarily purchase the consumption goods that they make; hence, a concern that increases its costs of production by paying higher than minimum wages puts itself at a disadvantage in competition with a firm that pays lower wages; indeed, it is to be expected that its own employees would use their higher wages in part to purchase the goods made by rival concerns and sold at lower prices than those at which their own employees could afford to sell his.

2. The stockholders of a large concern are, in a majority of

cases, so far removed from the management that they cannot readily be consulted and so be persuaded of the wisdom of accepting lower dividends or lower prices for their stock for a few years as a means of protecting their investment. Indeed, many of the ultimate creditors whose investments must be protected have not wittingly purchased stock; they have put their money in a bank which has lent several times its total to speculative investors who have used it to purchase stock and who cannot repay their loans to the bank if the prices of the stock should tumble, as they would if dividends ceased, or if the financial reserves of the firm were markedly decreased. Hence public opinion among bank depositors and investors (who constitute the great majority of vocal citizens) is constantly favorable to "bull-markets" and is antagonistic to decreased interest rates and lowered dividends. In this blind pressure for higher prices for securities, investors have been undeterred by repeated warnings that collapse would follow a situation in which credit was expanded so far that a loss of confidence would lead to a demand for the repayment of loans that could be repaid only if stock prices, rental values, and widespread consumption of goods were maintained.

3. In the midst of prosperity large industrial and commercial organizations tend to grow larger, and smaller ones tend to merge with the larger or fail. The small businessmen usually want to do neither. Together these employers hire vast numbers of workers. It is evident that under pressure of competition this class of employers is not in a position to increase wages even during periods of prosperity.

4. Much more important, however, than the preceding reasons is the social lag or inertia by which economic conceptions that were valid in an earlier stage of capitalism continue to find acceptances when their validity has ceased. One of these concepts, that of the desirability of installing labor-saving machines, largely offsets the increased purchasing power of workers due to higher wages. Although the individual employed worker earned and spent freely for a few years, the displaced workers largely lost their power to purchase, and the speed-up of

mechanized industry became so great that the earning and free-spending years of the employee were greatly shortened. Though it is generally true that the introduction of labor-saving machinery eventually results in new or expanded opportunities for employment in other lines, the displacements from productive enterprises were altogether too rapid during the 1920's for new distributions of labor to be possible.

Ups and downs of the role of youth

And then the collapse! The bubble world of confidence and optimism, of braggadocio and conspicuous consumption, of display and pleasure-seeking was pricked. And elated youths no longer strutted. Some were bitter, some resigned, some moped, others protested. But all became, in varying degrees, dependent.

After 1933, a benevolent central government interceded directly, boldly, if not always wisely or consistently or adequately, to support equities and to underwrite consumption. So supported, America staggered through liquidation gentled by governmental deficit financing. Youth was protected and kept busy at schools and on non-competitive work projects.

Toward the end of the decade, the international crisis deepened. World War II was in the making. Armies and navies were enlarged and made ready. And youth was again recognized to be constructively important. Military and war-related jobs in great variety demanded candidates for training. Abilities and aptitudes were evaluated; preferences were consulted; morale became an asset without which disaster threatened.

As the fifth decade opened, adults again looked to youth with respect. Unlike their honored predecessors of the "Twenties," however, wartime youth did not swagger. They may have been noisy sometimes, but in general they practiced and learned in a setting of mutual interdependence; safety, position, and income, all required team work and individual efficiency.

The impact of World War II on production and distribution in America complicated the relationships of capitalistic enter-

prise. The nation not only invested heavily in industry, transportation, commerce, communications, housing, and welfare services, but it also became a major purchaser of the goods so produced and distributed, indeed, it assured generous compensation and "profits" to individual and corporate collaborators in the war enterprise. Millions of jobs were thus provided for men and women and youths that, temporarily at least, have been discontinued now that the emergency is over and accumulated shortages of consumer goods have been overcome.

Under the unique moods, opportunities, and prestiges characteristic of each of the three major periods noted above (and of the many subdivisions that will occur to the reader), the social setting in which occupational counselor and youth in need of advice have busied themselves has varied markedly. It is obvious that the motives which lead young people (and adults, too) to choose a vocation or even a job are in part reflections of the esteem in which people of a particular area, group, and time hold the occupation and its concomitant aspects—dress, associates, and titles. Certainly these reflected prestiges are at least as important as money compensation, security, and opportunity for advancement, or as ability and aptitudes, or as technical experience and interest.

Because these variables are so many and so conflicting, even contradictory, it is probable that our general disappointment with occupational guidance to date is to be explained by the oversimplification of our expectations. Very likely a large part of the results of skillful counseling is not definable separately from all the other developmental factors that affect final choices and other adjustments.

The vocational counselor faces facts

The first responsibility of a vocational counselor, we believe, is a sincere and frank appraisal of the potentialities and limitations of the function of occupational guidance. Such an evaluation would lead quickly to a humble recognition that even the wisest counsel is often disregarded in all aspects of life; that any estimation of the success or failure of earnest, intelligent

guidance service must be bolstered by faith that somewhere and sometime the results of school experiences, the information and advice and friendly atmosphere associated with guidance, will aid the individual in choosing wisely how to proceed in his occupational career, even though he has long forgotten, if he ever knew, what these influences were.

It is clear that many youths seek occupations for which they are quite unfit or which are so overcrowded that only the peculiarly gifted or the person with influence can find economic satisfaction. It would be unreasonable to blame the counselor because not many corrections of such bad choices can be assigned to the work of the guidance officer. We expect him to do the best he can. The outcome is in the hands of the individual; in a complex world he must make his own adjustments.

There is, nevertheless, a comforting assurance for the sincere guidance officer in this very generality of human experience. Not all farmers raise the same crops; nor do those in the same fields of production succeed or fail because of the presence or absence, in a sufficient degree, of one skill or aptitude. Similarly, success and failure in law, in married life, in industry, and in all other occupational classifications have many and varied causes other than information, technical skill, and abstract intelligence.

Some of the causes of success or failure are so incalculable that we are inclined to assign them, as Henry Ford is alleged to have done, to good luck or bad. Other causes, quite as potent but almost as difficult to discern, have to do with personal qualities that may be relatively dominant or recessive in any individual at different periods during his life or that may vary with the situation in which he finds himself. In all important fields of human activities, there is an important premium put upon men and women who can get along with each other and with their superiors and subordinates.

Now it may be true for some people that they have so behaved during school years that a peculiarly gifted counselor, if provided with enough knowledge and opportunity, might forecast accurately such success or failure as will later take

place. But it would be a presumptuous guidance officer who would assert that such an opportune conjuncture of observation, divination, interpretation, judgment, and skill of persuasion by which success could have been assured or failure forestalled, has occurred frequently. In most cases we must recognize, if we are honest with ourselves and with those we would serve, that determination to succeed in some chosen activity (or at least an unwillingness to remain among the mediocre), is at least as important for prognostic purposes as all other combined factors indicated by observable phenomena at school age.

Unfortunately, that drive to succeed, however potent, does not always register itself in school marks or even on records of approved student activities. Anecdotal records, if made by teachers who are intimately acquainted with pupils' out-of-school as well as school-time activities, might give hints of driving power and ambition among young people such as are usually ignored by school counselors, lest they seem to be encouraging political intrigue, gambling, rackets, conspicuous waste, and sexual promiscuity—aspects of life wherein determination to succeed is most readily defined.

It is this generalized ego-impulse, derived both biologically and environmentally, that directs and disciplines all other responses of the individual. And like any other trait, it grows in vigor as it is successfully practiced, and it tends to attach itself to those activities which have rewarded the assertive acts.

As it grows, it compels the individual personality dominated by it to withstand criticism and ridicule, to avoid needless antagonism of those with whom he must associate, to persevere in the face of jealousy and friction, to control at least the outward expressions of anger and discouragement. The all-important point to be noted is that such a hierarchy of self-disciplines headed by ambition very often makes for a considerable degree of success in some related area of almost any trade or profession.

The comforting assurance for the sincere guidance counselor to which we referred above is readily recognized if the preceding discussion is sound. He uses available information regard-

ing the advisee, job trends at all levels, educational, certificational, organizational, and prejudicial limitations in occupations and in geographical and "social" regions, and whatever other data may seem significant to him or to the advisee. With all these matters in his own mind and in the mind of the youth whom he is directing, he endeavors to foster by accentuation a "life-career motive" that will burn persistently and hopefully.

At this point, the counselor is far less concerned with the exact suitability of the preferred career than he is with the enthusiasm of the youth seeking his advice. He is ethically bound to use all his influence to encourage socially useful (or at least harmless) career ambitions. But he *never* attempts vigorously to dissuade the advisee from aspiring to any legal or moral occupation until or unless he has successfully fostered in him a substitute goal as compelling as the one which may have seemed to the counselor to be unwise.

A life-career choice, vigorously and confidently adhered to, will enhance the development of all those traits that make for success. The variety of opportunities allied to any occupation is so great that, within their range, a chance to use fruitfully whatever abilities the individual may develop is almost assured.

What lies ahead in occupational distribution and opportunities depends on so many variables that no forecast made at this time can have more than general significance. We can examine the trends in the distribution of gainful workers from 1890 to 1940 and make a conditional prophecy that the trends will continue at about the same rate, provided that factors equivalent to those of the past continue to be in control in the future. Or we may examine very recent accelerations of some aspects of mechanization and rationalization in factory, office, on farms, and in civil services, and then base prophecies on the assumption that these new developments will distort the long-time trends; for example, the increased scale and revolutionary mechanization and "streamlining" of farm business units; the application of the "conveyor belt" system, prefabrication of parts, and final assembly plants, so successful in the manufac-

ture of everything from toys, shoes, and automobiles, to ship building, airplane construction, and housing; and the replacement of stenographers, bookkeepers, and telephone operators by automatic machines.

Agriculture and allied industries required, in 1890, the services of almost forty per cent of all gainful workers of this country, whereas less than twenty per cent were so engaged in 1940. Manufacturing and mechanical industries employed slightly more than thirty per cent of all gainful workers in 1890 but only about twenty-five per cent of them in 1940 (despite the increase prior to World War II). At the other extreme were the increasing percentages of workers employed in clerical services and in trade and transportation, the former increasing from three per cent in 1910 to ten per cent in 1940, while the latter grew from eleven per cent to twenty-three per cent during the same period. The increase in the figures for the professions was slightly greater than that showed by the totals for employed persons.

In professional and in personal services we might anticipate considerable expansions, if the level of general employment and consequent consuming power does not fall off too rapidly. Indeed the more general employment in professional, personal, and public services and in the *service aspects* of clerical, trade, and transportation occupations, and of manufacturing and mechanics occupations as well, would seem desirable, even necessary, to compensate for accelerating technological unemployment.

Most teachers have both justifiable reservations and inherited prejudices regarding the general expansion of personal and "professional" services. Many of us are keenly aware that a "climate of opinion" favoring superficialities of personal appearance and "allurement," excitement and "thrill," and display and snobbery too easily gets out of hand as it affects adolescent youths for whom we have greater hopes and ideals.

Mingled with these reasonable doubts, however, are inheritances of puritanic taboos, of agrarian economic folklore, and of social snobbery that make it difficult for us to approve

vocational choices of certain "professional" and personal service occupations which we feel, rather than think, are unworthy of a bright or otherwise promising boy or girl. Our predecessors felt that way about any job that called for overalls or clerical or sales services. Even today we tend to regret the aspirations of girls we consider superior to become "beauticians" or of promising boys to become "jazz" players or dance instructors.

Not only do such occupations seem shallow and intellectually uninspiring; they also seem unproductive and, hence, economically unsound. It is, of course, true that they are dependent upon the existence of luxuries which in times of depression may be dispensed with. Nevertheless, we must recognize that luxuries quickly become embedded in custom; as elements in a "standard of living" they are almost stubbornly held onto, even when consumers can ill afford them.

Behind these reticences of ours, however, is a feeling that many of us share with large sections of the public, namely, that services of all sorts are a drain on public wealth. In an agrarian economy of scarcity, such as is the ancestral background of most of us, the production, servicing, and consumption of food, clothing, shelter, and minimum comforts occupied a very large fraction of the time and efforts of adults. Family, religious, and community morals had, or seemed to have, economic basis in tabooing occupations wasteful of time and material. The discipline of chores and duties in such an economy formed a determining role in the training of the young and, hence, in the establishment of agrarian moral standards.

In village and urban communities and in the domestic arrangements of the bourgeoisie and "the aristocracy," such sternness had relatively less place. The majority of members of such communities earned their livings by serving the privileged as entertainers, laborers, retainers, and shopkeepers. Indeed, the pattern involved an economy of "taking in each other's washing" among the lesser people. In a degree, indeed, economic specialization finds one major root in this type of

servicing of the desires and needs of others by one man or group of men.

The dynamics of "leisure class" standards have been irrefutably explained and documented in Thorstein Veblen's classic, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*². They are the foundations of the stereotyped urges of ambitious youths and adults. In many regards they determine the approved "culture" and refinements that our schools exalt. They explain in large part the potent aspirations of democracies—the urge of those in the humbler walks of life to attain for themselves and their families the hallmarks of the elite—erudition, graciousness, sophistication, and distinguished appearance.

Psychological basis of wealth

Intermingled with the dominance of bourgeois aspirations and standards in modern life, and with the increasing technological displacement of agricultural and industrial workers, is a third factor that guidance officers too seldom understand. Most wealth in urban societies, wherein sixty-one per cent of all gainful workers are now employed, is credit-debt wealth, the psychological basis of which is faith and confidence. Buildings, land, equipment, even life, health, and anticipated income are, in large degree, involved in credit-debt relationships whose substantial counterparts are paper and ink. When we say a man is wealthy we mean, in most cases, that he has claim upon the future earning power of industrial, commercial, or agricultural establishments and on products which have exchange values.

It is a tenuous economy, as successive panics, depressions and "boom" prosperities show. The seeming paradoxes of "hunger in the midst of plenty," of "unemployment amid shortages that work would overcome," of "periods of prosperity in the wake of war and flood and hurricanes," shock us, but they

² New York: The Macmillan Company, 1899, cf. also, Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1938, and Patrick Geddes, "Talks from My Outlook Tower," *Survey*, Vols. 53 and 54 (February and April, 1925).

don't quite free us from our agrarian semantic clichés that "debt" is a bad word, denoting a condition to be avoided, while "credit" is a good word. We seldom realize that one term is inseparable from the other, and that most men and most business enterprises are both creditors and debtors.

Occupational guidance in the postwar world inevitably takes account of the three great variables discussed in the preceding paragraphs.

1. Clerical, sales, professional, personal, and public services must increasingly take up the slack caused by industrial and agricultural unemployment in the modern world.
2. Such services in a world of potential material plenty stabilize and augment the local, national, and world income because they both increase the velocity of turnover of money and broaden the basis of potential demand for the goods and services produced by all other men at home and abroad.
3. Leisure-time culture underlies the social aspirations of adults and youths; for good or for ill, popular esteem for appearance, social graces, sophistications, athletic skills, fine arts, political action, and technical skills have superseded whatever public support may ever have been given spontaneously to scholarly erudition and elaborate small talk about the arts and the sciences.

The school is a major formal instrument by which society endeavors to stabilize and to foster orderly progress of its processes and human resources. Vocational guidance officers cannot avoid responsibility for participating in this all-controlling function. They can participate effectively in the process, however, only by dealing with a world that now exists. And in that world changes will continue to take place.

In this shifting world, new elites emerge and the old ones retire to the background. Symbols that formerly denoted class differentiation in America merge and disappear. The cigarettes, automobiles, radios, clothes, and household equipment of millionaires, of distinguished "old families," of mechanics, salesmen, and farmers (in favored areas) are almost indistinguishable. Organized workers of hand and brain form

dynamic political and ideological forces in our modern democracy. Few men are humble because of earning power or occupational status; and not many of the wealthy are arrogant.

In occupational guidance, therefore, it is increasingly futile to direct "the best minds" to the professions, because civic leadership is no longer accorded to the professions as such. Some clergymen, some physicians, some scientists, some lawyers, and some professional educators are so honored by many of their fellows. But so, too, are some labor leaders, some politicians, some artists, and some farmers.

It is at least equally unjustifiable to try to direct those less gifted with abstract intelligence into mechanical, sales, and personal services if they aspire to the professions. "The right to be wrong," to reach for the moon, to make bad choices and change one's mind are the privileges of the free man.

We are counselors, not doomers or determiners, for youth. We aid them in making their own decisions. Many such decisions may seem wrong ones—may really be wrong ones. We cannot be sure. We may be helpful only as we help youths to face truly important factors in reaching decisions. To do so we must know what is important.

Competitive, individual, and cooperative services

The American tradition of struggle for individual success has been promoted by almost all agencies of formal and informal education of youth throughout our history. The conception of democracy as the open road for talent is obviously directly connected with the struggle of virile commoners in Europe and America to demand and compel the removal of all artificial obstacles to their economic and social equality with the privileged classes.

During the nineteenth century this conception of democratic life as individual struggle and conflict received impetus and reinforcement. Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection to account for biological evolution received wide acceptance by philosophers and scientists and was vigorously popularized by publicists. It was easy to argue that competition was the law

of nature and that it applied to human beings as truly as to the lower animals. The difference between sociological or institutional evolution and biological evolution was overlooked. The rugged individualist was already in control of the instruments that mold public opinion—politics, press, conspicuous waste. He was part and product of a going concern; the assumption of justification was his.³

Nevertheless, the practical applications of the doctrine of selection of the fit and the elimination of the unfit were almost too brutal and revolting for the state of civilization that American society had reached. Starvation and suffering among those who failed to survive the competitive struggle were too sharply in conflict with the American Dream of universal pursuit of happiness and a common welfare. Even the much publicized charity and philanthropy of the wealthy failed to convince all the people that all was well in a world of despair and selfishness.

During this same century, however, another doctrine was established which served as a corrective to the popular misconception of the social implications of Darwin's biological hypothesis. The Russian, Kropotkin, studying anthropology and social institutions, set forth a hypothesis that mutual aid among members of a group rather than conflict among individuals accounted for the emergence and survival of human institutions and hence of human beings. This very important doctrine has never been popularized to the degree that misconstrued Darwinism had been. It coincides better with the American Dream, to be sure, but it gives less justification for rugged and ruthless individualism and hence provides less adequate ammunition for those who rise to the defense of the *status quo* from pulpit and rostrum and lecture platform.

Despite the progress of sociology and social philosophers, of political-economic parties and statesmen, and of moral leaders who have endeavored to soften the crude brutality, merciless exploitation, and wastefulness of *laissez-faire* competition, pub-

³ See H. G. Wells, *Outline of History*, Vol. II, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920, page 425.

lic opinion in America remains preponderantly loyal to the stereotypes of "economic liberty" and individual success.

Consequently, the adventure of entering a business or professional career wherein by energy, persistence, foresight, and willingness to take risks one may hope to "climb to the top" has strong appeal to high school youths and to their parents. It behooves them and their counselors, therefore, to examine the probable opportunities for such employment in the emerging economic-social world. "The folklore of capitalism," to use Thurman Arnold's phrase, is nowhere more in need of critical analysis than where it is employed as a basis for vocational guidance.

The first thing that should be understood by all who are concerned with the choice of a competitive job follows from the statements in the preceding paragraphs. No one should consider preparation for such work who does not face the probability that by the very nature of competition very few persons do succeed in reaching the top. Most of those who enter such work must fail to achieve their goals and must, therefore, accept a life of servitude or of great insecurity or of both. The monetary rewards for the few who reach the top are high; the enjoyment of conspicuous waste and adulation is their privilege; but it comes to very few and often fails to satisfy even the few who attain it. Unless one is ready to face a life of unsatisfied striving for goals that seldom assure happiness, and to recognize that the chances of reaching even such unsatisfactory goals are overwhelmingly against him, he should be counseled not to enter competitive commercial, industrial, and professional occupations.

As to the type, the blatant extrovert stands the best chance of emotional survival, though not necessarily the best chance of economic success. He makes the best salesman, the most aggressive lawyer or doctor, the complacent workman, the uncritical servant. The introvert suffers under real or fancied slights or failures, but his sensitiveness often leads him to evolve solutions for difficult problems the existence of which the extrovert may not even recognize.

Cooperative production, distribution, and services

During the depression in 1929-1939 the cooperative movement, which had experienced very tardy and timid development in America, gained great momentum. The spirit underlying organization for mutual helpfulness has not been unusual in American life, but it has been spasmodic and concrete. The exchange of labor in rural life for harvesting crops or erecting buildings is an institution of long standing, community organization to ward off danger or to improve roads has been practiced throughout our history. In larger affairs, however, mutual insurance companies and cooperative banks have been almost the only successful examples of cooperation, and the cooperative nature of these has not been understood by most policyholders or shareholders. Numerous colleges have cooperative societies where books, supplies, and clothes are distributed without profit, and their success has led other groups to undertake similar ventures.

After 1929, the Cooperative League became a vigorous educational organization. Within the next decade, almost two hundred cooperative societies were affiliated with the League and cooperative training schools, district wholesale units, uniform accounting systems, and cooperative audits were being widely undertaken.⁴

Cooperatives are free unions of consumers or producers, organized into societies controlled democratically, with memberships open to all, for the purpose of supplying needs jointly. Some of the many commodities and services with which cooperatives are increasingly dealing are housing, banking and credit, insurance, recreations, baking, milk distribution, restaurants, laundries, gasoline and allied products, telephones, power and light, and hospitalization and medical services. Since 1933, the federal government has extended its encouragement and assistance to various aspects of the cooperative movement.

The importance of cooperatives in connection with guidance

⁴ Jerome Davis, *Contemporary Social Movements* New York D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1930, page 534

is the new spirit of group interest, as contrasted with a selfish individualistic interest. Since the employees of the co-operatives are also members in it and since the other members are the customers or the suppliers of raw materials, a cohesiveness due to a community of interest is an essential part of the organization. Security, satisfaction in the approval of their fellow co-operators, and self-expression through personal responsibility replace the profit motive, individual competition, and the conflict between executives and workers which normally characterize private industrial and commercial concerns.

Pupils who give enough evidence of mature social traits during their high school days may well be encouraged to study the opportunities for employment within the expanding co-operative movement.

*Employer-employee relations
in the emerging society*

The American youth about to enter the working world should be helped to understand the advantages and the inevitability of standardized incomes and prices. He should know that by himself he is helpless to withstand exploitation at the hands of an unscrupulous or high-pressure employer. He must know that higher wages or better working conditions depend upon the acceptance of agreements between employers and employees, which, in a competitive economic society, means very often an agreement between organizations of workers in all competing firms and organizations of all employers of these classes of workers; thus, the wages for plumbers, stenographers, and salesmen of parallel rank will tend to be the same in all concerns doing business within the same district.

In the past, standards of work and wages have been set by top management. By organizations among workers (including, in some recent cases, clerical staffs, foremen, and engineers), their bargaining power has increased and has attained legal sanction. Hence there is a tendency for wages to approach in fact their economic definition: the discounted product of labor.

Employees, when collective bargaining is general, may pre-

sent their demands or requests through employee-representatives whom they themselves elect to meet the employer's representative. There may be within a given plant a company union fostered generally by the employers. In other plants, the employees may belong to a union of local, state, national, or international scope and be represented at the bargaining interview by outside representatives.

It is not necessary for the schools' officers to express preferences for one form of collective bargaining over the other. It is generally sufficient if pupils are made familiar in advance with the collective nature of wage bargaining in all large business and industrial concerns.

Getting a job

Many young people get the jobs they want with little recourse to school or other formal agencies. Through relatives or friends they learn of openings, are introduced or recommended to the employing officer, and go to work. Others, especially numerous when jobs are scarce, welcome the assistance of school officers and of public and private employment agencies.

For both types of youth, the psychological opportunity for advice and aid arrives at the time of entering on employment. Matters of dress and personal appearance, of proper address, posture, and attitude, and of good judgment are no longer academic, as they may have been earlier when presented as class topics.

What employment possibilities lie ahead

It is interesting to speculate regarding the probable occupational distribution of the American people during the decades that lie ahead. Such speculation would be futile, of course, if fundamental and revolutionary changes should destroy the capitalist competitive economic system that now at least nominally maintains itself; or if America should undergo a fascist revolution; or if the trend toward mechanical substitution for human labor in industrial plants and business offices should not continue as a part of the natural and almost inevitable process.

of capitalist competition. While none of these eventualities lies outside the bounds of probability, for the purpose of prognostication we may assume that merely evolutionary modifications in our present social economy will occur.

It seems probable that owing to the installation of mechanical devices for counting, computing, recording and transmitting, decreasing numbers of persons will in the long run be employed full time in industrial and commercial offices to care for correspondence, credits, shipments, and the rest. Labor-saving machinery for producing commodities will tend to decrease the numbers of persons employed in agricultural and manufacturing processes. On the other hand, the distributing force—salesmen, advertisers, and deliverymen, together with the research staffs, administrators, and supervisors that they require—must rapidly increase in order to market the greatly increased production.

If such increased production and distribution can be accompanied by relatively low prices and high wages, the profit economy that now dominates our economic life may continue indefinitely. If, however, the consumption of goods by the general population is restricted by high-price levels or by low wages or by only partial or unsteady employment, the further development of voluntary socialization through cooperative economy and of governmental socialization of essential services and production will certainly proceed rapidly.

In either case, services now denied or greatly restricted for the economically less-favored classes will be more adequately provided following the trend already well established. Necessary food, shelter, clothing, transportation will become universally available at nominal cost or, in the case of the long unemployed, free. There will be great increase in establishments for hospitalization and convalescence, both cooperatively provided as they are now by the associated hospital service organizations and subsidized or supported outright by federal, state, county, and municipal governments. Cultural, recreational, and rest centers, popular museums and libraries, schools for vocational retraining and for avocational and social-civic study, free, or with nominal fees, will be established everywhere.

as they now are in enlightened cities and suburbs. Mountain, forest, seashore, and lake-shore resorts and parks involving both private and cooperative ownerships, and municipal, county, state, and federal provisions will be established and enlarged on non-commercial though often restricted on cultural or economic-social bases.

All such institutions and services will require great numbers of selected and trained specialists—teachers, recreational leaders, physicians, nurses, artists of all kinds, and administrators, and, of course, great forces of clerks, mechanics, engineers, salesmen, promoters, and research groups. These specialists will be employed by private persons, by entrepreneurs, by cooperative organizations, and increasingly by governments, the proportions varying according to the degree of community initiative and support or of private exploitation and exclusiveness each institution represents.

The spirit that must infuse all who are to be successful in these new ventures must be social rather than selfishly commercial. Atavists, fired only by desire for financial gain, would be as unhappy and dissatisfied and unsuccessful as are their counterparts who sometimes now find themselves on the teaching staffs of progressive public schools. Selfishness would be transmuted into a desire to create, to reform, to suggest alternatives, to carry on experiments, and to receive popular recognition for contributions.

All high school youths who have shown signs of such enlightened and socialized self-expressions in connection with their school, home, and community activities should be shown the vision of a potential world that may soon be in great need of competent staffs of social-minded men and women. There can, of course, be no assurance that such a civilization will be generally attained in the near future, but already many opportunities for such services do exist in connection with cooperative and public undertakings. Thousands of youths who are not "on the make" may well study these opportunities with a view to preparing themselves for satisfying services in a socialized sector of a potentially convalescent world.

Such a socialized order as will probably evolve as American

society becomes mature will not end human adventure. It will, however, provide other motives than that of private profit to inspire men and women to experiment and to create. As H. G. Wells, speaking of a world order, has effectively asserted, "Hitherto man has been living in a slum, amidst quarrels, revenges, vanities, shames and taints, hot desires and urgent appetites. He has scarcely tasted sweet air yet and the great freedoms of the world that science has enlarged for him."⁵

In no way may the school and specifically the educational vocational counselors serve youths and society more effectively than to help their advisees to find their ambitions within the more humane, socialized, and intelligent world that is evolving. The adviser whose own personality is wholesome and social is peculiarly fitted to help youths to free themselves from the self-seeking motives that have too largely characterized the past and the present generations of youths and adults. It is a new and better society that democracy struggles to attain.

The world that we must seek is a world in which the creative spirit is alive, in which life is an adventure full of joy and hope, based rather upon the impulse to construct than upon the desire to retain what we possess or to seize what is possessed by others. It must be a world in which affection has free play, in which love is purged of the instinct for domination, in which cruelty and envy have been dispelled by happiness and the unfettered development of all the instincts that build up life and fill it with mental delights. Such a world is possible; it waits only for men to wish to create it.

Meantime, the world in which we exist has other aims. But it will pass away, burned up in the fire of its own hot passions; and from its ashes will spring a new and younger world, full of fresh hope, with the light of morning in its eyes.⁶

⁵ *Outline of History*, Vol. II. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1920, page 589. The reader should by all means consult the section of the *Outline of History* from which this quotation is taken. In it Wells has pictured an exciting and satisfying world that may evolve.

⁶ Bertrand Russell, *Proposed Roads to Freedom*. New York. Henry Holt & Co., 1919, page 212.

Evaluations and Records as Instruments of Guidance

To the reader of this volume it has been obvious that the authors conceive the spirit and methodology of guidance to be aspects of a very revolutionary change in the education of youth. Guidance, as defined, is indeed the very core of the new emphasis on student growth as opposed to the superimposition of arbitrary tasks. The modern school promotes guidance procedures as one major instrument for encouraging every student to desire to grow toward near and remote goals with such encouragement and assistance as his teachers, his fellow-students, and his out-of-school friends can give him.

Growth toward the attainment of these goals may be made more intelligent and more vigorous if there are available objective measures by which starting points, potentialities, shortcomings, and attainments can be evaluated. It is evident, therefore, that guidance officers, both administrators and teachers, must borrow *for their own purposes* the procedures that have been and continue to be developed in the field of testing, measuring, and recording the capacities, attainments, and specific needs of students and of the effect of varying school and extra-school experiences on the present and later adequacies of youths to deal with the personal, social-civic, and economic situations that he meets.

The need for orientation and discrimination on the part of the teacher-guide and his administrative superiors is obvious. Measurements are potent instruments; they determine what traits shall be rewarded, and hence what teachers will teach and pupils will endeavor to attain. If the tests and measures

and records do not harmonize with the goals of propulsive educational practices, therefore, they will surely distort and stultify the purposes and practices of the school

*Newer philosophies and practices of evaluation
help the teacher-guide*

It is evident, then, that guidance has little to gain from the purposes or character of the *conventional* testing program. That program is a relic of the school of yesterday. Its emphases are on informations and skills and the power to organize facts¹—all justifiable by-products or perhaps instruments of education, but essentially disconnected from the purposes and procedures involved in pupil growth toward self-set goals.

The character of the conventional testing procedures is a natural result of certain assumptions or postulates of the "scientific method" in regard to accomplishment levels in the schools where the "objective testing" procedures were developed. These assumptions were indeed necessary if the schools of 1910 to 1920 were to serve as the instrument for standardizing the grade norms of these early tests; the only alternatives were to set arbitrary standards of knowledge and accuracy and speed or to derive standards from social usages among adults, both of which were open to the objection that they did not accord with the practices of the schools, the product of which the tests attempted to measure.

After 1920 or thenabouts some leaders in the testing movement gave up the earlier emphasis on grade standards of accomplishment and began to popularize other values of the new-type tests—their objectivity, their economy of time of pupils and teachers, their diagnostic and prognostic values.

In the decade and a half that followed, the true-false, completion, and multiple-choice test techniques became so very popular that Lee and Segal² reported in 1936 that of 1,412 high

¹ Earl Rugg, "Some Learning Implications in the Social Studies," *Historical Outlook*, December, 1927, page 372, contains a conclusion based on Ogburn's analysis of fifty-six thousand final examination questions.

² "Testing Practices of High School Teachers," *Office of Education Bulletin*, 1936, No. 9, Tables 3 and 4.

school teachers who replied to their question, seventy-four per cent used only objective examinations and ten per cent combined essay type and objective examinations; a surprisingly large number of them were still using standardized tests.

Just as the makers of objective tests borrowed from the standardized test makers their question forms and some of their purposes, while discarding the clumsy and socially invalid standardizing feature, so during the last two decades many guidance advocates and educational progressives have drawn upon both standardized and new-type test techniques and scales and record forms to develop procedures that might conform to the nature and purposes of the modern school. These adaptations of standardized and new-type tests aim to evaluate not the information, skills, speed, and organizing power of students, but rather their attitudes, behaviors, interests, adjustments, and momentum. They aim to discover the individual needs and aptitudes of youths, with these ends in view. (1) remedying any important shortcomings, (2) guiding their choices of studies, activities, vocations, further education, and (3), most important, helping them to set up approvable ideals as objectives that may automatically serve to guide their further growth.

By such a reorientation of the testing and recording process, many of the objectionable features of marks and examinations are overcome. Under this new dispensation, students no longer compete with each other, cooperation and the sharing of the results of individual work are promoted, since the emphasis is no longer on individual accomplishment of tasks and the memorization of words and processes but rather on emotional stability, social attitudes, and wholesome human relations. Both standardized and new-type tests are still used, to be sure, but the evidences that they present to the progressive and guidance-conscious teacher are different from those formerly presented, they indicate needs for remedial teaching, for changed classification, for new challenges and modes of instruction, and for more sympathetic understanding.

These tests are supplemented and to a degree replaced by

"Tailor-made" record forms have obvious advantages and proportionate limitations. No form yet designed will serve equally well every kind of school. A formalistic school that places a preponderant emphasis on teachers' marks and examination grades may be very well represented by a form in which only such items are entered.

By contrast, a school in which the teachers manage somehow to see the whole lives of their students can scarcely hope to get every case fully recorded. Percentage marks, sigma scores, and other conventional devices that we use on records are arbitrary and partial. The best prose he can write, or even poetry, will be necessary to convey a master teacher's understanding of an individual student with whom he has worked and played through all of the adventures that make up one school term.

It is apparent that making records is only half the problem. Using them is also important, for they are made not to keep, but to use. Whoever sets up a record system has the moral obligation to guarantee by efficient organizational techniques that the records will be used. It is not enough that they may be used for statistical studies or for administrative analyses. Personnel records are expensive to maintain, and their cost can be justified only in the degree that they are used to improve the conditions for the education of the individual students whose characteristics have been analyzed and recorded.

It is not impossible to operate a good school without records, but the same school must be a better one if it employs recording techniques that are a part of tested educational practice. In most schools, adequate records evolve with the school. It is interesting to note that the converse may be true—that an adequate school may evolve as the teachers, through cooperative professional study of the record system and the principles it inevitably embodies, see more and more clearly the purposes they wish the school to serve.⁸

⁸ For a description of a plan for staff study and improvement of cumulative records, see Wendell C. Allen, *Cumulative Pupil Records*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

RESULTS: MEASUREMENTS

مکالمہ میرزا

Maplewood Elementary School

SCHOLARSHIP

South Orange & Maplewood High School

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Note. Please record achievement of test items in the following circles: and the letter of the test item, D, B, A, C, or S, as determined by various group IQs.

FIGURE 1

VOCATION		CONFERENCE		
Prepared by Name _____ Date _____ Class _____ Section _____ Subject _____ Name _____ Date _____ Class _____ Section _____ Subject _____		Secretary, State of South Orange Co. Middle School No. 1 Revised April 1, 1945, effective January 1, 1946		
3) Interests				
4) Out of the experience (the specific and various jobs)				
5) School				
6) Activities outside school (Organic clubs, Field trips, Chorus, athletics, mathematics, etc.)				
1) Preparing for what situation 2) Preparing for a vocation, occupation, etc.		12		
7) Special interests				
8) Outside experience (The specific and various jobs)				
9) Activities outside school (Organic clubs, Field trips, Chorus, athletics, mathematics, etc.)				

FIGURE 3

"Tailor-made" record forms have obvious advantages and proportionate limitations. No form yet designed will serve equally well every kind of school. A formalistic school that places a preponderant emphasis on teachers' marks and examination grades may be very well represented by a form in which only such items are entered.

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⁸ For a description of a plan for staff study and improvement of cumulative records, see Wendell G. Allen, *Cumulative Pupil Records*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1943.

It is a familiar notion that the loser in a chess game can trace back each play to the one which cost him the victory. By analogy, comprehensive school records are valuable for the precious information they give, not only of plays that led to defeat but the ones that led to victory. Lacking the gift of prophecy, we need so much the more to utilize our records to determine, as well as we can, which of our practices are effective. The records of any high school, if comprehensive records had been kept over a period of a generation, would probably supply evidence enough to require many procedural changes.

Keep records secure yet readily available

The dual problem of security and availability of cumulative records is not easy of solution. In some highly centralized school organizations all records are kept in the central office of the principal or dean, and a rule is strictly enforced that they must be consulted there.⁹ Such a stringent rule, however, may defeat the aim of decentralized teacher-guidance. In some schools the permanent records or copies of parts of them are retained by the homeroom teachers most of the time. In most progressive schools, however, a compromise plan is worked out whereby the records are kept in a central office, filed by homeroom groups. These cards are issued to class advisers or deans (or in small schools directly to homeroom teachers) for relatively brief periods of time. Cautious principals often insist that the records be returned to fireproof files at the close of each school day, unless the guidance officers themselves have equally secure places to keep them.

During periods of active recording or of consultation, the sets of cards made available for class advisers and homeroom teachers become the exhibits of data on which conferences are based. The many concrete challenges that arise from a study

⁹ In extreme cases of authoritative distrust of teachers, the consultation of permanent records is restricted to administrative officers, apparently on the implied assumptions that teachers are busy bodies whose knowledge of their pupils' histories would be used to harm the youths assigned to their care.

of each case in the light of present and previous experiences with the student give point to the discussion and tend to provide a wholesome element of objectivity. More important, they may furnish new leads, new suggestions for capitalizing enthusiasms and capacities that might have been overlooked had the teacher not known of the past history of his charges.

By such means, reasonable security of the valuable records is maintained, without unduly obstructing the free and effective use of them by the teacher-advisers, who are in daily contact with the students and have the most frequent need of the useful information recorded.

*Using records for the study of the
problems of adolescent youths*

The cumulative record has two great advantages over any temporary and specific record. It furnishes the raw data of a contemporary cross section of each youth's status, and it provides some elements of the conditions and incidents of previous years that may throw light upon the present status. Too seldom are these advantages exploited.

With an adequate cumulative record before him, the teacher-adviser can discover the apparent relations among the student's successive intelligence quotients, achievement-test scores, health conditions, personality ratings, attendance records, and the comments of previous advisers concerning the student's home background and family relations, his ambitions and disappointments, his disciplinary difficulties, and his participations in school and extra-school activities. The school physician and nurse, as well as the adviser, will find significant relations by comparing the student's record of successive physical examinations with other entries such as those noting accidents, employment, travel, home conditions, personality adjustments, and intelligence quotients. The administrator can go behind the record of absences and tardiness, of infractions of school rules, of sudden slumps in studies; he may thus be enabled to get some clue to possible causes that are much more important than the mere symptoms.

The cumulative record serves thus to promote the sympathetic understanding of the adolescent as a person. It furnishes the basis for conferences with the student and his parents and teachers where the need for such conferences is indicated by the record. Indeed, making, interpreting, and using adequate cumulative records may lead teachers to recognize that traits and qualities of the individual are themselves the objectives against which the efficiency of the school must be measured.

Such stress upon the potentialities and needs of the individual student, moreover, promotes an intelligent and effective treatment of the social groups to which he belongs. The individual is seen among his classmates with a perspective that is absent if he is analyzed by himself. The cumulative records of a class or a homeroom group or a club present each student in comparison with others. He may be the brightest or the dullest, the oldest or the youngest, the most vigorous or the most anaemic, the most or the least gifted, the richest or the poorest, or somewhere in between these extremes. He may be one of a minority or of a majority in his group. He may be the only Negro or Italian or Catholic. He may be the outstanding athlete, or scholar, or artist, one of a few boys in a group made up chiefly of girls, or a member of a group socially so nearly homogeneous that his individuality is swallowed up in the group mores, as occasionally happens in a snobbish clique.

The use of tests and measurements for prediction

It is more than a quarter of a century since Truman L. Kelley published his doctoral dissertation, "Educational Guidance"¹⁰. In it he endeavored to discover a statistical formula (the regression equation) by which the later success of youths could be predicted from their achievements, physical and social status, and native ability. From 1914 until today this possibility has challenged the most painstaking study on the part of a great many gifted educational statisticians. "The highest rule of

¹⁰ *Contributions to Education*, No. 74. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914.

measurement in education," says Dr. Ben D. Wood, "is in the prophecy of long term provisional goals for individual pupils, and the progressive modification of these goals in accordance with cumulative evidences of growth and of needs, intellectual, personal, and social."¹¹

The setting of such goals involves prediction based on test results. So far as present evidence gives much hope of certainty, such prophecies are likely to be unfulfilled. If only some measure could be devised by which later success could be foretold, we would have a discovery comparable to that of the alchemist, had he succeeded in transmuting base metals into gold. Guidance would then become scientific and dependable, whereas now it has to recognize so many variables that prophecy is little more than futile.

How far from the accuracy reasonably necessary for prediction tests and measures were in 1921 was shown by Thorndike's follow-up study of twenty-five hundred New York City elementary school pupils after twelve years. Tests for intelligence, clerical ability, and mechanical adroitness were given to these children at the earlier date, and cumulative records were consulted to include regularity of school attendance and teachers' estimates of scholarship and conduct. The results, according to Dr. Irving Lorge, Teachers College, Columbia, who reported the study, indicate that the measures used were nearly valueless in predicting later success and interest of those who engaged in mechanical work, and only slightly better for clerical occupations. In neither case were intelligence scores, attendance records, or teachers' estimates of character and scholarship of any value whatever.

How adequate are predictions of scholastic success?

It is easy to explain such futility of prediction in the case of employment by recognizing the important variables that are or should be quite unconnected with school regimen, favoritism, luck, "connections," and so forth. Such variables certainly are

¹¹ *Test Service Bulletin*, No. 35, Yonkers-on-Hudson, World Book Company, 1935, page 5.

unimportant in affecting the scholastic success of students in advanced grades or institutions. Studies of prediction of later scholastic success, however, show that predictions based on test results, while they bear positive relation (that is, plus correlations) to later success, are little better than guesses. Intelligence tests, college entrance examinations (and in New York State, Regents' Examinations), school marks, and school rank, all give better results than standard achievement tests as bases for prediction of later scholastic success. But the better correlations in most cases range from $r = .34$ to $r = .45$; the former permits prediction just six per cent better than chance, and the latter eleven per cent better. Even such an unusual correlation as $r = .71$ (found only when the test or the school record bears close relationship to the subject in which the later successes are measured) allows prediction of only thirty-six per cent better than guess.¹²

But let us see in detail just how much they help us. Take a test correlating .45 with grades, this would seem to be about the modal correlation in colleges. In a typical case with the usual five-step scale and an average reliability in the grading system, one could predict the placement of 34 out of 100 persons to within half a step. But one could predict similarly the placement of 31 persons in a hundred without using any test. Thus by the use of the test, the grades of three persons in a hundred are more properly predicted. When the correlation is as high as .77, one predicts the standing of about 17 persons in a hundred better than if one used no test at all. This is no doubt worth while but it is nothing to get excited about.

We must, however, guard ourselves against too negative a conclusion. For many practical purposes, we do not greatly need tests which will prognosticate achievement throughout the range of the scale which is our criterion. The Committee on Admissions of a college, for example, is chiefly concerned with predicting whether a student will fail to carry college work successfully. For this it needs a critical score and a statement of the probability that the

¹² C. L. Hull, 'The Correlation Coefficient and Its Prognostic Significance,' *Journal of Educational Research*, May, 1927, pages 1-12.

student will reach or exceed whatever scholastic level is defined as satisfactory¹³

While such a critical score and a statement of probability of minimum success would simplify the problem somewhat for selecting students in accordance with the policy of a given post-secondary-school institution, there would remain many unpredictable variants that would determine individual success or failure quite apart from rank, marks, examination results, intelligence, or aptitudes. Some of these variants are involved in the unreliability of high school standards and marks, especially sex differences in competency and marks,¹⁴ other variants are typical of the college criteria: instructors' standards, prejudices, and practices, and college regulations regarding class attendance, term papers, mark distribution, and discipline. Still other variants are aspects of the changes in standards, habits, interests, and opportunities that occur in the lives of the students; new friendships, enthusiasms, popularity, personal problems, and values may result in upset predictions¹⁵

As a general rule high school students who score in the highest fifths on tests and marks are likely to make better than average records at college. Average and "poorly qualified" high school students, on the contrary, have very variable scholastic records; they may be high or they may be low; they may succeed remarkably well in some subjects and be abject failures in others. Opinions may vary regarding the selection of the former "sure bets" for college, rather than the latter, less dependable, but perhaps more discriminating and self-reliant youths. It would depend on one's definition of "suc-

¹³ Horace B. English, "The Predictive Value of Intelligence Tests," *School and Society*, Vol. XXVI, No. 677 (December 17, 1927), page 783

¹⁴ W. C. Eells, "The Scholastic Ability of Secondary School Pupils," *The Educational Research*, January, 1937

¹⁵ David Segal, *Prediction of Success in College*, United States Office of Education, Bulletin No. 15, 1934

Philip A. Cowen, *College Entrance Inquiry*, University of the State of New York, Bulletin No. 1007, November 1, 1932

E. D. Grizzell, "Responsibility of the Secondary School for the Selection and Preparation of Certain Pupils for Higher Education," in report, *The Responsibility of the Secondary School, A Conference*, Boulder University of Colorado, 1936

cess" in college, and that definition would depend on one's conception of education and of life. If getting high marks is the purpose of college education, then the predictive values of tests and marks, poor as they are, are of some significance

If all high schools and all advanced institutions taught only academic subjects, and if youths who were motivated by such subjects remained motivated by them and those who did not respond to them at one level never did come to respond to them at a later level, then, within the limits of validity, reliability, and accuracy,¹⁶ psychological and academic achievement tests, school marks, and school ranks, fortified by social and physical status, might reasonably be expected to furnish adequate bases for prediction. Such conditions, however, need merely to be stated to be recognized as palpably absurd. The sum total of instruments, while much better than any one of them taken singly, is far from perfect. Pupil responses from year to year do vary to significant degrees in individual cases. Moreover, many other factors than adequacy in academic subjects do enter into school, college, and vocational success.

The curricula and institutional regimens of high schools, liberal arts colleges, professional schools, and other advanced institutions present a bewildering array of opportunities for success. Frequently the most crucial courses in a particular type of institution require traits or qualities that are not measured by any one of the criteria by which predictions are made. W. H. Pyle gives an example in which the criterion was an intelligence test:

Freshmen entering Detroit Teachers College are given the Detroit Advanced Intelligence Test. Of 300 freshmen, I took for consideration and study the upper twenty-one and the lower twenty-one as determined by the test. The high ability students made an academic record the first semester 30 per cent higher than the low ability students, but in practice teaching, only 52 per cent higher. In fact the person making the second highest score in the intelligence test,

¹⁶ H. D. Richardson, "The Intelligence Quotient and Secondary School Guidance," *The School Review*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1 (January, 1935).

failed in teaching because of the lack of something which the intelligence test failed to measure. For four semesters I have taken a few of the very highest and a few of the very lowest ability students as determined by the intelligence test and made extensive laboratory experiments upon them. In every case I found some of the low ability students excelling some of the high ability students in certain types of learning. It is rare to find the same student either uniformly high or uniformly low in all the learning experiments.¹⁷

"I think that everybody who has worked in this field is becoming tired of assuming that the criterion—the college—is infallible and that the sources of evidence derived from the school and the examinations are in error," says Carl C. Brigham. "In many subjects of instruction the methods of teaching and examining in the college are so faulty that a perfect instrument of prediction could not correlate higher than 40 or 50 with the college result."¹⁸

Only when the definition or scope of success in high school and college is so limited that the traits measured by the tests or other criteria of prediction at the lower level or institution are very like those called for by the criteria of "success" at the higher level, is the accuracy of prediction in fact high enough to justify the reasonable use of tests and records for advice and selection. Thus the success of college freshmen whose work is largely academic and prescribed may be foretold fairly well from any one or any combination of the usual criteria. In the University of Minnesota study, percentile rank gave a correlation with freshman scholarship, $r=67$ to $r=70$.¹⁹ There remains the question, however, whether freshman scholarship is a proper criterion for selecting youths who should proceed with their college work to graduation, especially in the professional schools.

¹⁷ "A Study of College Students," *School and Society*, Vol. XXVI, No. 677 (December 17, 1927), pages 789-790.

¹⁸ "Admission Units and Freshman Placement," *Educational Record*, Vol. 15, 1934, page 57.

¹⁹ Report of the Survey Commission X, "Student Aptitude and Prediction of Student Scholarship," *Bulletin of University of Minnesota*, Vol. XXX, No. 75 (November 8, 1927).

Tests and records are used with varying success for prognosis in a single subject. Here again the varieties of curriculum purposes and experiences and the unreliability of teachers' marks greatly interfere with the validity of either tests or records for prediction. Not only do schools differ from one another in their definitions of each subject, but teachers within each school vary in their aims, methods, and standards. If, however, prediction of scholastic success may be dependable at all, it should be so for the continued study of the same subject. W. V. Kaulfers, summing up various attempts to develop prognostic techniques for foreign languages, concludes, nevertheless, that "because of the unstandardized conditions prevailing in foreign language teaching and the complex nature of abilities involved in foreign language work, no basis for prediction will probably ever prove universally applicable . . ."

In more standardized subjects such as conventional mathematics, it is probable that the predictive value of tests and records that identify the peculiar abilities that make for success in these subjects would be high, especially if achievement tests rather than teachers' marks were used to test the success of the predictions. In the case of conventional high school algebra and geometry there are numerous prognostic tests that give correlations as high as $r=60$ to $r=.70$ ²⁰

Such adequacy of prediction has one grave danger. It is obtained only where traditional and almost unchanging subject matter and methods are found. Successful prognosis is all too likely to "freeze" the conventional curriculum in order to keep the security of easy prediction.²¹

The use of tests to determine causes of failure—diagnostic tests

While diagnostic tests might well be used to study the needs and resources of successful students, they are, nevertheless, gen-

²⁰ J. Murray Lee, *A Guide to Measurement in Secondary Schools* New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1936, pages 93-96.

²¹ See Harl R. Douglass, "Some Dangers of the Testing Movement," *Journal of National Education Association*, Vol. XXIII (January, 1934), pages 17-18.

erally used in school practices, as in medicine, to study the ailing persons in the hope of discovering what remedial measures are likely to prove beneficial. In such subjects as algebra, book-keeping, shorthand, art, home economics, and industrial arts, spelling, handwriting, and some routine aspects of composition, in which specific procedures can be isolated for examination, diagnostic testing followed by remedial practice is surest and quickest of results. Even in more complex skills such as reading, geometry, and problem solving, diagnosis and remedial teaching have proved feasible.²² But in areas that involve personality factors such as the will to work, fear of failure, initiative, and self-reliance and in which uniformity of procedure would be stultifying, as in the cases of science, social studies, appreciation of literature, art, and music, and creative tasks, diagnosis and remedial practice have small place.

To the degree that any subject matter is to be taught to all students in a class, however, tests may reveal to the teacher what parts of a topic need to be taught or retaught, and to the students the aspects of the subject in which they need more help and more practice. To the alert teacher they may even suggest that changes are needed in the subject matter and methods used.

While diagnostic and achievement tests are generally used by the teachers in connection with the specific subjects that they teach, school administrators and guidance specialists do sometimes make more systematic and more general analyses of the shortcomings of failing or otherwise maladjusted students. Cecile W. Flemming listed fifteen factors that should be studied in the case of each failing student, including his mental quality, his ability to read, his physical condition, his home background, his study practices and facilities, his activity load, his attitudes, his associates, the adequacy of his teachers and

²² *Educational Diagnosis*, Thirty-Fourth Yearbook, National Society for the Study of Education, 1935. Chapters dealing with principles and techniques of educational diagnosis and treatment by R. W. Tyler, L. J. Brueckner, and S. A. Courtis are especially valuable, also the application of techniques to reading, English, arithmetic, health, and speech by various authorities.

their procedures, and, of course, the quality of achievement in specific school subjects.²³

Appraisal of newer educational practices

As has been reiterated in the preceding pages (probably to the point of irritation for the reader) much of the testing movement to date has had to do with school and college conceptions of "learning" and "knowledge" that are of doubtful validity. Moreover, there has been in almost all of the testing and measuring work so far discussed in this chapter a tacit assumption that information and skill in the conventional school subjects and processes are the ends for which the schools exist.

Progressive educators have long since broken with any such narrow conceptions as these. So far removed has modern education been from the assumption of the achievement-test makers, that progressives were in the past often inclined to oppose the measurement movement, fearing that the practices developed in terms of the personal and social goals would be misjudged if their product were measured by instruments set up to test facilities in performing set tasks and recalling static information.²⁴

Even though the results of such studies have almost uniformly shown that activity modes have given results equal to or better than traditional procedures, progressives have claimed with reason that such evidence was negative. Until tests had been devised that would measure attitudes, personality integration, and social-civic and character behaviors, they asserted, it was unsatisfactory merely to prove that pupils taught according to modern methods could factor, translate, read, spell, and recall.

Only recently have scientific experimenters directed their

²³ *Pupil Adjustment in the Modern School* New York Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931, M. N. Woodring and C. W. Lemming, "Diagnosis as a Basis for the Direction of Study," *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 31 (October-November, 1928), pages 46-64, 131-147.

²⁴ Denton Loring Geyer, "The Results of Activity Instruction An Interpretation of Published Findings," *Journal of Educational Research*, November, 1936.

attention to the preparation of tests for the newer curriculum practices and educational regimens. During recent years, however, Wood, Thurstone, Watson, Symonds, Ralph W. Tyler, Wrightstone, and others have devised measures for the important aspects of educational product that lie beyond mere subject learning and skill development. Satisfactory tests have not as yet been developed for all of these aspects, by any means, but a most encouraging beginning has been made.

By means of these new tests it is possible to measure the power to obtain information, to interpret it, to express creatively with it, to measure the development of interests in connection with it, and such concomitant factors as initiative, cooperation, personal and social adjustment. The new tests thus meet the needs for measuring some products of the integrated curriculum, for examining functional behaviors and abilities, for testing the power to interpret, infer, and to generalize, for discovering interests, attitudes, and beliefs, for estimating the adequacy of personal adjustments, and for examining evidences of continuing growth.

Measuring the intangibles

In any exact sense, obviously, it would be paradoxical and absurd to propose that we may measure that which cannot be concretely perceived. Here, however, the word intangible is used in its more popular meaning, and that meaning is relative. Achievement is itself impossible of exact measurement, but in education we make approximate average measurements of it and from those measurements we estimate abilities and competences and even native intelligence. So long as we are keenly aware that our measurements are merely approximations and not altogether valid or reliable, we gain in some degree over merely subjective estimates of the qualities measured.

There are, nevertheless, important traits of human beings that are even more vague and difficult to define—traits of personality commonly called character, self-reliance, energy, honesty, introversion, and so on. So far as these terms refer to

unit qualities at all and so far as they mean the same things to different persons, they are perceptible only in their expressions or applications.

Even then these expressions are specific and relative. An honest person might not steal money or tell certain kinds of lies, but many dissembling behaviors and avoidances are tolerated and even approved among "honest" men; they are thus "moral." And so for all other personality traits—their expression cannot be judged for any individual without careful weighting of the approvals and standards of the community in which they take place.

Within these limitations it is possible to record, classify, and evaluate the responses that persons make to real or imaginary situations and similarly to qualify the attitudes, prejudices, and ratiocination that these responses reflect. Such records, classifications, and evaluations are of course valid and reliable within the framework of assumptions and hypotheses set up by the test makers. No matter how meticulously the tests are made and used, the measurements and conclusions are acceptable to other judges only to the degree that these assumptions and hypotheses seem reasonable to them.

Difficult as the definition, analysis, and evaluation of character and personality traits may be, actual practices in judging such traits are inevitable and almost universal. In selecting partners and companions, in electing officers, in creating and personifying ideals, and in the many other approvals (and disapprovals) that we give to human beings—in so far as we act intelligently and in social spirit—we are assigning values to character and personality traits. It is more than the mere assignment of values, for we are in fact approving and rewarding and thus promoting these qualities.

Any progress that may be made toward making such judgments more objective, more dispassionate, and better reasoned is to be welcomed. The danger lies only in the tendency of the neophyte in this area of tests and rating scales to become too enthusiastic, to identify his own personal esteem with the general acceptance of his conclusions so that he lacks perspective.

If one remembers always that he is working with very new, very tentative, and very imperfect instruments, he may then develop a properly cautious attitude toward the results and conclusions reached by himself and by others who are attempting to measure the intangibles.

The great need for improvement in the evaluating and recording of traits and progress from the point of view of guidance (and indeed of education conceived as growth) is recognized immediately when we note the instrumental character of marks and scores and records. If we focus our attention on the goals to be sought through guidance, all instruments fall into place and are readily judged and used in terms of their purposes.

To the degree that the teacher-guide is consciously discriminating in his use and interpretation of marks and records, he determines first what are the desired adjustments and attainments of pupils in terms of educational objectives. Then let the school and all of its teacher-guides determine first what are these desirable adjustments and attainments. Let tests, marks, evaluations, and records be sought which so far as feasible give evidence regarding student needs and progress toward these adjustments and attainments. Let them be interpreted always in consonant terms, and let all remedial measures, all approvals and disapprovals, all report cards and transcripts of records constantly stress these adjustments and attainments. Under such conditions and only under these conditions can evaluations and records become effective instruments of guidance.

Organizing the School for Guidance

THE SCHOOL is inevitably an on-going organism. Modifications come into its organized life from time to time as a result of many and varied influences. No new departure comes into being which is not affected fundamentally by the outlooks and practices that have typified the school's institutional life. A clear recognition that the development of a successful guidance program is not, cannot be, a revolutionary step, will reconcile the administrative officer to building on whatever foundations he may find at hand and to let his organization emerge as need and opportunity and readiness develop.

The school's guidance activities may seem negative or futile as compared with the play of extra-school influences upon the habits, attitudes, and aspirations of youth. On the other hand, they may already have attained the status of a commanding coordinating influence over the characters of many, perhaps most, of the students. Present success or failure has resulted from continued and conflicting practices, emphases, reforms, and lethargies, which have inevitably been different in every school.

It would be absurd for any standardized procedure to be proposed or advised to bring about successful guidance programs. Progress must come from trial and error and selection of the most promising practices and relationships. To a degree, therefore, each school's organization must be unique.

Guiding principles, concrete examples, and suggestive recapitulations of the experience of successful schools in develop-

ing their guidance programs may be helpful. Such aids to leadership and experiment are set forth in this chapter in the hope that they may serve as incentives and check sheets for administrators and teachers who desire to systematize and improve their own practices and relationships.

Initiating and planning an organization for guidance

The high school principal is usually the person who must accept responsibility for the organization of guidance within the school. He rarely gets to build an organization from the ground up. Even if the school itself is a new organization housed in a new building, it is a part of some larger organization that already has established some form of guidance organization. It is likely that there is some general plan implementing established policies imposed by the state education department that exercises supervision over all high school practices in the state.

The responsible officer or officers—the principal and his staff—must first of all assess the degree of adequacy and success of whatever guidance plan is in operation. The plan may be a very informal one. It may consist of little more than assembly talks on decorum, leisure activities, health, or study methods. It may include provision for consultation service where teachers meet with students, or with parents, or both, for the exchange of information and advice. There may be a course in occupational information (at one time called "vocational civics"), and related to this there may be provision for an annual "career night" when students, upper-classmen especially, are given an opportunity to discuss the present and future possibilities for careers in some of the more common vocations.

The guidance plan may be one that is supplemented by various agencies in the community. Kiwanis and other service clubs, the "Y," the Scouts, the churches, the women's clubs, some professional organizations and other adult groups may be eager to contribute to the solution of the problems of youth. The school officials must be alert to take advantage of such enthusiasms and resources as are available in the community.

The principal formulates his policy

However important the guidance function of the school may be as education, nevertheless, it is, from the viewpoint of administration, only one aspect of the school's organization. In each specific school, therefore, guidance must be made an integrated and coordinated part of its administrative and supervisory organization. Hence it is impossible to set forth a pattern for guidance organization that can be adopted by every school.

The principal of a school must formulate for himself some consistent and effective policy regarding centralization or decentralization of responsibility for educational functions—teaching, discipline, attendance, student activities, and guidance. It will lead only to confusion and uncertainty for him to attempt to delegate responsibility for some of these aspects and to demand meticulous conformity with office directions for other aspects.

The competent teacher may obey official orders or requests to confer, consult, advise, apply punishments and rewards, fill out cards, keep registers, and send students to the office for interviews, or he may depend on his own resources and judgments to do whatever seems to him to be necessary in each specific situation. But he cannot successfully do both at the same time. The specific teacher-student contacts and relations involved in teaching, discipline, attendance, student activities, and guidance are too closely interwoven for successful differentiation in spirit or execution.

Let the principal decide, therefore, whether he believes that his school will be more effective if maximum authority and immediate responsibility are centralized in the principal and his administrative assistants, or whether he believes that it will be more effective if authority and immediate responsibility are so far as feasible allocated to the individual teachers, or whether he believes that some consistent middle ground should be sought. This decision may not be an easy one for the principal to make; his own personality and the expectations of his

superior officers, the often over-heavy class loads of the teachers, and the present competency of his staff to carry on guidance activities are all deeply involved in it. But some consistent attitude toward the independent responsibilities of his teachers in all pupil-teacher relations must be adopted if the guidance program itself is to be effective.¹

The success of any plan for guidance will depend in great measure on the degree of sympathetic understanding which the members of the faculty have attained regarding the purposes of the plan and the way in which it is expected to operate. Success will depend also on the personal and professional attributes of the teachers. An unsympathetic faculty, or one composed in any considerable part of teachers who are insecure or disgruntled, will surely weaken and very likely wreck any guidance program that is inaugurated.

Cooperative planning is indicated

Intelligent and positive cooperation on the part of the teachers requires that they have a considerable share in the determination of the policies and procedures of the guidance program. Moreover, there must be a minimum of prescribed uniformity. The obvious necessity for conformity in such mechanical details as reports, records, and class schedules must not put a premium on conformity for its own sake. Each teacher-adviser must be free to carry on conferences and interviews and other guidance procedures in accordance with his own personality and experience.

It is most important, of course, that the guidance organization be in harmony with the general school policies. It is futile and contradictory for a school to maintain a guidance organization that presupposes the possibility of many adjustments and adaptations to students' individual needs if, at the same time, the school imposes curricula and courses and assignments that are vestiges of the period when secondary school faculties thought

¹ Compare Philip W. L. Cox and R. Emerson Langfitt, *High School Administration and Supervision*, New York: American Book Company, 1934, Chapter II.

of their ministry principally as "screening out students unfit for further education"

Whether the policies of the school represent social lag or a reactionary bias for a formalized type of education-for-discipline, no device is more likely to help teachers to transform the spirit of the school than the transfer of attention to the growth and development of individual students. Teachers who have sought to maintain their status in terms of specialization in one or another subject-fields will often find that there is more pleasure and satisfaction, and quite as much professional dignity and status, in the kind of a school where the fundamental purpose is not to select a few students for special educational advantages, but to engineer for every student the advantages through which he may attain his optimal development.

Staff organization for guidance

In high schools of one thousand to two thousand students, the administration and supervision of the guidance program, and often that of student activities and discipline, is frequently delegated by the principal to a dean of girls and a dean of boys, one or both of whom may also be assistant principals. In other schools, the special guidance officers may be known as counselors or as directors of guidance.

In any case the special guidance officers find many and diverse aspects of student welfare for which they must accept a large share of responsibility: health, discipline, tests, records, student activities, scholarship, tardiness and absence, parental relations, articulation with lower schools and private schools, college entrance certificates, recommendations for employment, and contacts with many extra-school agencies such as clinics, courts, municipal departments, special schools, civic societies, and newspapers, and continued research involving the outcomes of cases previously dealt with and opportunities for employment and for further education. It is quite obvious that the effort involved in following up all of the leads and problems of these many-phased and endlessly intricate and ramifying duties

is beyond the powers of any individual, if they are to be attended to personally.

In a very small public school of a hundred pupils or less such specialization of function might conceivably be feasible. But unfortunately no such school is equipped with a special guidance officer other than the principal-teacher. In village and suburban high schools of five hundred pupils and a faculty of twenty or more, part-time guidance specialists are too often hairled creatures trying single-handed to accomplish the impossible.

In such schools, and surely in all larger schools, the execution of the many and diverse guidance responsibilities must to a large degree be allocated by the chief guidance officer of the school to assistants or to other members of the staff. In order that such allocations may not result in needless duplication of work and, indeed, in confusion and inefficiency, it is necessary that a clear pattern of responsibility and duty be set up.

As the constructive school organization plans develop from year to year, they reflect the principal's conception of the guidance function. The allocation of responsibilities to one or more guidance officers compels decisions regarding responsibilities and authorities.

If the principal conceives the guidance process primarily in terms of conferences between counselor and students, utilizing school records, tests, and other information, and of cooperation obtainable in the school community, he will be inclined to establish the counselor as a consultative specialist. If, however, he associates the guidance process with homeroom advisement, club sponsorship, class instruction, the use of tests and

¹New York State encourages neighboring small high schools to employ cooperatively, and share the time of, a guidance specialist. If a specialist is so employed and is permitted to serve as supervisor and consultant for guidance-oriented high school faculties, the arrangement might prove very valuable. However, in the opinion of the authors, such part-time service cannot be substituted for the day by-day guidance activities carried on where the guidance function is mainly decentralized. For details of the New York State suggestion, see the New York State Education Department Bulletin, *Vocational Guidance Services in the Secondary Schools*, 1945, page 7.

records, school regimen (including provisions for health care, control of tardiness and absence, courtesy in cafeteria, corridors, and assemblies, and so forth), coordination of in-school and school-related activities, relationships with other schools, and such like aspects of pupil welfare activities, the principal is almost certain to accentuate the administrative-supervisory role of the guidance director.

In practice, of course, the distinctions are seldom complete. The director of guidance, whatever his title, is usually assumed to have the special qualifications for counseling students and parents whenever problem cases develop. The counselor-specialist, however esoteric he conceives his processes to be, still depends on classroom teachers for assistance in understanding and aiding the individual students who are his concern. The distinction therefore becomes merely one of emphasis in most school organizations; the allocations often work out pragmatically with reasonable success and with relatively less difference than the alternative philosophies might imply.³

Nevertheless, something more than *laissez-faire* evolution is requisite if both confusion and lethargy are to be avoided. Guidance is a social dynamic, conflicting in origin and development; hence, the term itself is semantically ambiguous.

Some of its specialistic apologists would keep guidance distinct from education in general and would thus magnify the consultative function and deprecate the guidance role of teachers. Others would emphasize occupational information and choice, the selection of preparatory courses, and placement and follow-up as the primary concerns for guidance officers, leaving to the school community in general responsibility for educational processes other than guidance. Both of these attitudes are understandable; but neither is likely to apply to boys and girls who would thus simultaneously be educated by one set of circumstances and "guided" by another. Hence, in practice,

³ Cf. Rex B. Cunliffe et al., *Guidance Practices in New Jersey. A Progress Report*. New Brunswick, N. J. Rutgers University, 1942. See especially Chapter III, "Programs in Action." See also R. H. Mathewson, *Guidance Practices in Connecticut High Schools*. Hartford, Conn. Connecticut State Department of Education, September 1940.

there is likely to be a conflict whenever these several attitudes have not been brought into some kind of compromise. It is unfortunately common to find the guidance specialist *demanding* cooperation from teachers, and teachers maintaining a stolid indifference, insisting that guidance is not in any part the responsibility of the subject instructor.

The organizational pattern advocated for high schools of one thousand to two thousand students would indicate one or more full-time counselors (or deans), part-time class or grade advisers, homeroom advisers, and classroom teachers. In a graphic representation of this organization the full-time counselor is usually represented as though he were a person higher in the scale than the homeroom adviser and classroom teacher; but it is the teacher who, day after day, deals with students directly in most normal situations that call for guidance.

In the plan of organization endorsed by the authors the counselor or dean will serve best when he carries on these functions:

- 1 Supervises the guidance program as a whole—not inspection of the guidance activities, but leadership in planning, executing, and evaluating policies and procedures
- 2 Gives expert assistance in special cases involving maladjusted students, contacts school physician, psychiatrist, and so forth.
3. Acts as administrative coordinator in developing and maintaining a system of school reports and records and in other quasi-administrative matters related to guidance
4. Engineers the articulation of the school with other schools and with the central office of the school district in matters pertaining to guidance
5. Maintains close relations with colleges and universities, with employment offices, and with all persons or agencies associated with college entrance, job placement, and follow-up

The class advisers would be primarily intra-school officers; they would be teachers released from part of their teaching schedules to devote a share of their time to supervising the guidance of pupils of a specific class. They would explain to new homeroom and classroom teachers the school's policy and pro-

gram for guidance activities through teacher-student participation in the vitalized group and individual activities of home room, class, club, play and recreational, assembly, dramatic, journalistic, aesthetic, and other curricular activities. For new and old teachers, the class advisers systematize the work without unnecessary formality or superimposition, setting the dates when cumulative record cards would be distributed to the teachers and returned by them to the class advisers to be checked up and studied. They assist all the less successful or less adequate teacher-advisers to improve their work through conferences, through supplying materials, through personally participating with teachers and students in various activities and using the opportunities that occur to promote guidance relationships. In these and in other ways, the class advisers provide example and concrete materials and encouragement to the end that all teacher-advisers may catch the spirit and develop the techniques that will assure success.

The class adviser deals formally with individual members of the class only when they are referred to him by the classroom teachers, except when he is himself acting as teacher-adviser, in which case, of course, he carries on the normal advisory functions of a classroom teacher.

*Should advisers advance from grade
to grade with their students?*

Whether the grade advisers and the homeroom teachers should advance with their students from grade to grade or whether either or both should remain attached to given grades year after year is a moot question. In favor of the former practice are those who stress the intimate and subtle friendships with youths that are often developed by grade advisers of rich personalities; especially in the cases of students who make few friends and for whom therefore the adviser makes special efforts to break down reserves and suspicions, it seems wasteful and perhaps calamitous to interrupt at the end of one year the relationships that have been established. Opposed to the continuance of the same grade adviser from year to year are those

who emphasize the need of new personal relationships, those whose attention is primarily on the cases that have failed to respond to one grade adviser but who might be reached by another one, and those who stress the specific grade activity responsibilities for which each adviser would need to be peculiarly competent—for example, the adjustments of entering classes, the senior yearbook, the junior play, and so forth.

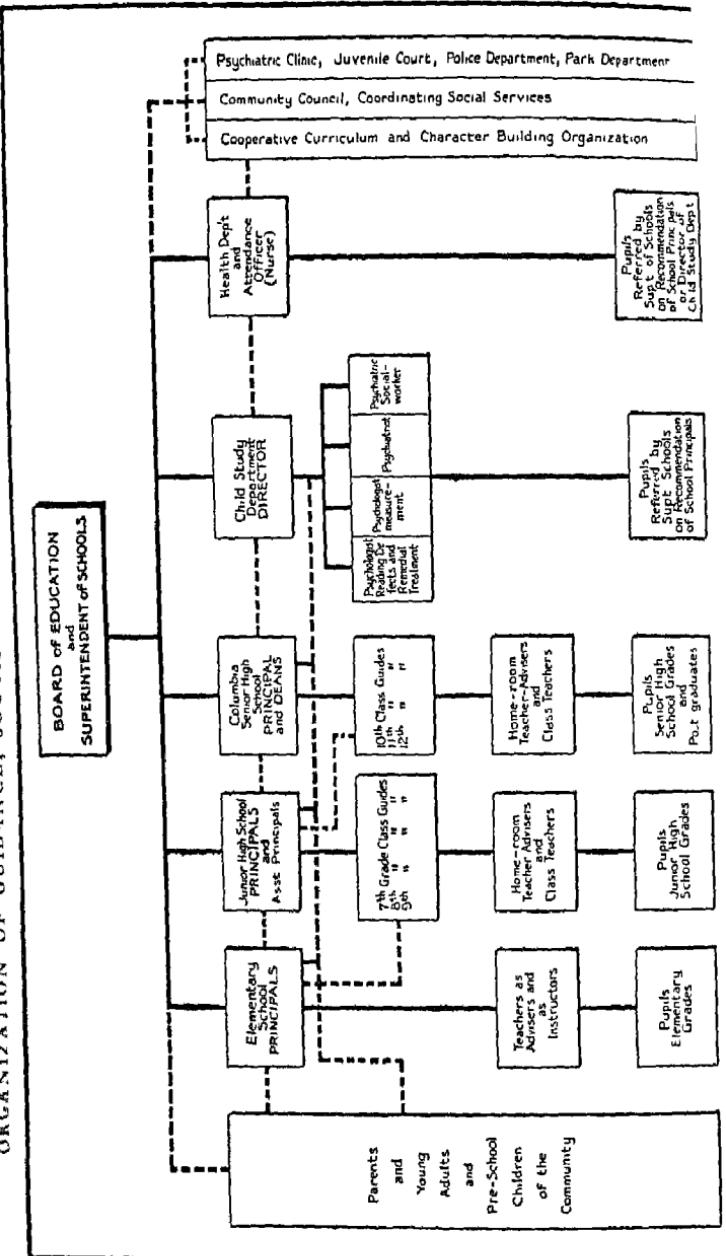
Compromise plans are sometimes worked out. In one school the grade advisers advance year by year to graduation and then return to the entering class, while the homeroom teachers remain generally with the same grade but, of course, receive new homeroom groups at each promotion period. In another school, the adviser and certain key homeroom teachers advance, while other designated teachers, each responsible for one traditional activity, remain attached to the same grade.

Columbia (Senior) High School of South Orange and Maplewood, New Jersey, has for several years followed the practice of appointing three grade advisers who year after year and in rotation become responsible for the entering tenth grades and remain with them throughout the senior year. To each grade, however, there is assigned a stationary assistant grade adviser, who is a specialist in the most important duties that fall to that grade, in the tenth grade these include relationships with the junior high schools and other schools from which students transfer to this grade, the induction into the social affairs and student activities of the school, and the rest; in the eleventh grade, there are the junior class dinner and prom; in the twelfth, the yearbook and graduation festivities. In this school most homeroom teachers also remain attached to the same grade year after year.

The guidance organization of large schools is complicated by other factors

In larger schools there may be several part-time or even full-time specialists attached to the office of the dean or counselor. In city school systems the work of these specialists is, in some cases, supervised by central office bureaus, for example,

ORGANIZATION OF GUIDANCE, SOUTH ORANGE-MAPLEWOOD DISTRICT, N. J.



child guidance clinic, office of the mental hygiene director, health department, attendance and work-certificate office, and research division.⁴ The dean or head counselor of the specific school then becomes in greater or less degree a coordinator of the contributions that these special officers make to the guidance services.⁵

If, however, the school develops a positive institutional guidance program, the counselor's major efforts are directed to energizing and directing the personnel work of class guides, teachers, coaches, fellow administrators, custodians—whatever may find opportunity to deal with boys and girls as individuals. For a number of reasons, indeed, the very size and complexity of metropolitan high schools result in many refreshing and wholesome pupil-teacher relationships. Among these reasons is the obviousness of the need for humane contacts in a school whose size makes for impersonality. So challenged, the administrators and head counselors, often highly selected and qualified leaders, set for themselves as a major goal the encouragement of personalization of education. Not only do they exhibit warm friendly interests in their own contacts with students, parents, and colleagues, but also by all the administrative and supervisory devices they command, they encourage all members of the school community, including upperclassmen, to emphasize human relationships, rather than to conform to academic stereotypes of behavior.⁶

It requires a rugged and persistent personality to maintain equanimity and optimism to meet the same obstacles day after day—shifting faculties, managerial immediacies, marking, sectioning, and class assignments arranged partly to meet ratio-

⁴ In highly centralized systems where personnel services are emphasized, the work of some or all of these bureaus may be subordinated to that of a city director of guidance services, for example, in the systems of Providence, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, New Orleans. Cf. "Visiting Teaching Services in the Administrative Organization of City School Systems," *Education for Victory*, Vol. 3, No. 22 (May 21, 1945).

⁵ Cf. Katherine M. Cook, *Pupil Personnel Services for All Children*. Washington U. S. Office of Education, 1944, Leaflet 72.

⁶ Cf. Alice Crow, "Guidance at Girls' High School," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City*, Vol. XXV, No. 10 (December 1943).

requirements and partly to conform to tradition and obsolete clichés of subject-minded teachers—all of which foster impersonality. All honor to those administrators and counselors of large schools who hold fast to the conviction that the staff eventually will accept the development of individual students as both goal and means for school processes!⁷

It is never easy, especially in the case of a large high school, to set off clearly the managerial function from that of the guidance officers. In many instances the counselor or dean must act for the administrator by delegated managerial authority; for example, in matters of record keeping and test reporting, in identifying maladjusted students, and so on. The meticulous administrator, even in such cases, makes sure that the directions are issued in his name, and that the delegation of responsibility for supervision to the counselor is clear and reasonable.

In the large school the guidance program, like that of the small school, will succeed as it wins the consent and cooperation of classroom teachers. Even in a school in which a complete dichotomy of guidance and instructional functions is permitted, the classroom teacher in practice is drawn into the guidance program. The counselor may write the prescription, but the teacher sees that the medicine is taken and observes the results.

Because teachers cannot be disregarded in the guidance program, it is essential that they understand and accept responsibility for whatever aspects are assigned to them. Because almost every phase of guidance is interrelated to all other phases, the "what," the "how," and the "why," of every personnel action require a considerable background of acquaintance with the facts and with the social and psychological reasons for the action.

Obedient direction-following is not enough. Passive comprehension of the guidance program is insufficient. Active participation in as many aspects of personnel work as time and

⁷ H. G. Pecker, *Guidance at Work in a Large City High School*, New York City High School Division, Board of Education, 1935.

energy permit is the only effective method for learning the teacher-guide job.

The counseling staff can no more do the complete job of guidance than the sales-director in business can do the complete job of distribution. Counselors are ill advised if they seek to make their processes mysterious and esoteric. They function best as consultants and as leaders.

The counselor can, on occasion, free himself from his daily schedule in order to mobilize all his resources to meet emergencies and to provide leadership for his collaborators. His challenge is to develop the vision, to foresee needs and opportunities, and to bring to bear technical knowledge whenever required. He is thus free to help to increase his colleagues' ability to make effective contacts with students, parents, and others.

Good school organization keeps the counselor as free as possible from managerial entanglements. His is the authority of competence and of fact. Once established he has little need to brandish administrative ukase.

It is indeed desirable that the chief guidance officer be more truly a supervisor than an administrator, that he emphasize those functions which involve leadership, stimulation, and special competence, and hold in abeyance those functions involving authority and direction. By analogy to army organization, he should be a "staff officer" rather than a "line officer."

The Troup Junior High School organization

It is such an organization that one of the authors developed while she was counselor at Troup Junior High School, New Haven, Connecticut, as is shown graphically in Figure 5. The counselor is seen here not to have a direct, authoritative relation to the teachers, but to be the coordinator of all guidance activities. On the one hand, she maintains contact with and secures the cooperation of extra-school agencies, the medical, psychological, and psychiatric clinics, the attendance and employment departments of the school organization; civic and welfare organizations of the community; and the department

of exceptional children, which gives group and individual tests. On the other hand, she is the expert helper of teachers and students within the school. She helps constantly in the programs of homerooms, clubs, student councils, and other organizations. She carries on both group and individual counseling, and she visits the homes of students. She thus influences the guidance activities in the fields of physical, curricular, social, vocational, civic, avocational, and ethical education without in any way diminishing the benefits of direct student-teacher advisory relationships. Finally, she follows up and helps in the further adjustments of all students who have left the school for work or to attend other schools, she keeps special office hours for them, she obtains reports from students, employers, and higher institutions, and she visits the homes, schools, employers, and social agencies concerned.

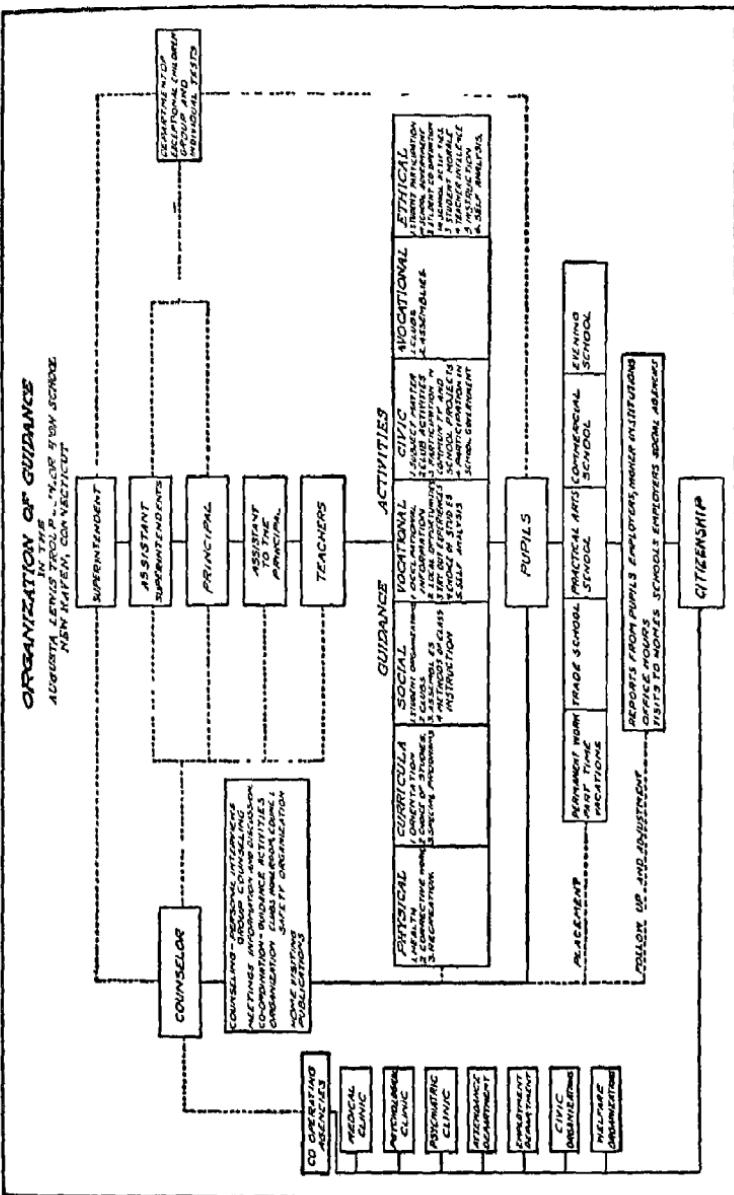
*Social workers contribute fresh viewpoints
and techniques*

The futility of traditional treatments of those school-aged young people who are often truant, chronically tardy, seriously ill, emotionally abnormal, or inclined toward delinquency has long been obvious. Neither school discipline nor police-empowered truant officers have often solved their problems.

With the increasing concern for citizens as persons, characteristic of civic leaders of modern America, community agencies, both public and private, have supplemented the school's efforts to deal with youthful problem-cases. Their techniques and procedures may be considered under the term "social work."⁸

The new orientation of social workers has been paralleled by modifications in school regimen and personnel. Attendance officers, school nurses, homeroom teachers, and, in favored districts, visiting teachers trained in social work have replaced the traditional truant officer. Punitive detention rooms for "culprits" and suspension and expulsion from school are now

⁸ "Visiting Teacher Services in the Administrative Organization of City School Systems," *Education for Victory*, Vol. 3, No. 22 (May 21, 1945).



less favored as cures for misbehavior. Physical and mental disabilities become matters for home and community cooperative action. In a word, child welfare is a field too complex for one institution to handle. It is so ramifying and intertwined that no part of it can be cut off and allocated for special officers to perform by themselves.

Teachers tend to conform to the pattern-concept which the community establishes for them. However, there are many teachers who manage to escape from "the teacher culture"—the set of attitudes and interests that characterize most of the members of the vocation. In rural districts there are teachers who are also farmers, and good farmers too. In the cities there are teachers who are partners in business or industrial enterprises, and there are many who are as familiar with the social agencies of a certain community as the social workers are. Dynamic and resourceful teachers who are encouraged to adapt for use in education some of the well-tested principles and techniques of social work will find new vistas for themselves and for their colleagues in the schools.

*Highly centralized organization may be
temporarily expedient*

School physicians and dentists, school nurses, psychologists, psychiatrists, psychometrists, visiting teachers, and attendance officers, all have supplementary guidance roles. They may furnish original data, to be entered on temporary or permanent records, which is of great value to guidance personnel in understanding the needs and aspirations and potentialities of the individual student. Quite as important, however, is the peculiarly confidential relation that each of these special officers may establish with pupils and their parents, with the consequent dynamic opportunities for counsel. If the specialist is to take full advantage of such opportunities, it is obvious that he must understand the school's mission and its organization and

⁹⁴ Charles F. Prill with C. Leslie Cushman *Teacher Education in Service* Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1944, p. 277.

resources. To promote such a sympathetic understanding on the part of these supplementary guidance officers becomes, therefore, a major responsibility of the administrative heads of the guidance organization, both of the specific school and of the school system as a whole.

A similar challenge is found in the necessity for obtaining the cooperation of the administrative and supervisory officers of the school, whose duties have important guidance implications but who are in many cases not thought of as guidance officers. Class-schedule committees, heads of departments, curriculum directors, and assistant principals or other administrative assistants need to be aware of how their functions are related to the guidance program of the school.

In many cases the adequacy of adjustments that can be made for the pupils may depend on the flexibility of the schedule, or on unconventional sequences or types of work within a department or a curriculum, or on special permissions or administrative provisions by which an unusual student may be treated in an unusual way. Administrative officers are generally humane and considerate if they understand and sympathize with the purposes of the guidance teachers and the problems of students. But such understanding and sympathy are assured only if the guidance officers act promptly and tactfully to win administrative cooperation *before* making decisions that involve exceptions from the administrative regulations of the school.

The temporary centralization of responsibility for student personnel problems may be desirable, even requisite, not only because school management and routine tend to overlook them, but also because teachers have often been neither trained for the guidance function nor chosen with that function in mind. Unless the faculty has been carefully selected to serve as teacher-counselors, and unless the staff is reasonably stable and has been encouraged to concern itself with student personalities as well as with subject-matter success, the service of a special guidance counselor is imperative.

Commendable as are the vigorous guidance programs under-

taken in many schools that have a centralized guidance service, this centralization should be recognized as temporary and as necessary only because immediate provision for the students' welfare must be made. It must not be accepted as a model for more favored schools in which general faculty participation may be possible.

In the medium-sized high school and in a school that is gradually becoming a large high school, the chief guidance officer, whether dean or counselor or principal, should avoid becoming too deeply involved in details or in personal interviewing. The possibility that the counselor may be swamped by duties that impair his real usefulness should be apparent from a list of guidance functions often assigned to the counselor's office. Such a list may include:

Preparing individual inventories for all students (to be maintained for many of them after they leave school),

Acquiring and disseminating adequate, current, and reliable information on vocational and educational opportunities;

Aiding students to interpret their personal data and acquired information as it applies to educational and/or vocational decisions and in making plans to carry out these decisions,

Aiding students in finding their places in part-time and full-time jobs and in training opportunities;

Making contact with all students who withdraw from school and maintaining it for a period of time, both for continued service to the individual and to provide data reflecting success and failure of school training and guidance.¹⁰

Even this rather overwhelming list is not complete. In practice it is quite impossible to help youths make such choices and adaptations as are indicated here without a broader frame of reference than inventories, job and school information, interviews, placement, and follow-up. Guidance is indeed so

¹⁰This classification of guidance responsibilities is abstracted from *Vocational Guidance Services in the Secondary Schools* The University of the State of New York, June 1945. Each of these major divisions of responsibility is defined concretely in the pamphlet.

dynamic a concept and process that, once recognized as a social responsibility in any sphere, it quickly and inevitably spreads to all aspects of community living. No scheme of "vocational and educational guidance" can be separated from guidance in general. Discipline, health, dress and etiquette, morals, and civic orientation become counselor responsibilities, for they are vocational-educational assets or liabilities.

*Evaluative Criteria of the Cooperative Study
of Secondary School Standards*

Whatever the school's organization for guidance services, it is desirable that periodic evaluations be made either by the school staff or by sympathetic and informed "outsiders." It is obvious that the emphasis in any such survey should be on function rather than formal organization, the latter is to be judged good or bad only in terms of its causal relationship to the adequacy or insufficiency of its service to youth.

There are in use in secondary schools belonging to regional associations of colleges and secondary schools the "Evaluative Criteria" developed by the Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards.¹¹ Section G of the evaluation blanks sets up five criterion-areas stressing function and one dealing with the guidance staff. The functional aspects covered are (1) articulation between schools, (2) basic information regarding the pupil; (3) operation of the guidance program, (4) post-school relationships, and (5) results of guidance. Each item under these headings is evaluated in the light of "the underlying philosophy and expressed purposes and objectives of the school and the nature of the student population and community which it serves."

The sub-section devoted to the guidance staff raises questions regarding the number of pupils per counselor, the personal and professional qualifications of the guidance staff, and evidence of improvement in service. Supplementary data called for

¹¹ Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, *Evaluative Criteria*, and *How to Evaluate a Secondary School*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1940.

under a seventh heading seek to find the equivalency of part-time (half-time or more) services in terms of full-time service. In computing summary scores, it should be noted, the only judgment of the survey staff given significant weighting is the answer to the question, "How extensive and reliable are the evidences that the counselors are improving in professional ability and service?"

It is obvious that high ratings on the score of guidance services are assured to that school, whatever its organization, that is dynamic in its guidance philosophy and practice. The regional associations and most State departments of education do not advocate one organizational scheme as better than another; they urge, however, that guidance personnel function in a manner consistent with their sincere educational beliefs and in terms of pupil and community needs and opportunities; they encourage personnel to endeavor in this as in other aspects of educational processes to improve their service to the student.

Each school must solve its own organizational problem, tentatively and progressively

Desirable allocations of responsibilities must be worked out in each general or special type high school for itself. Sufficient organization and supervisory and administrative arrangements should be planned to make success probable. Such compromises with necessary centralization should be recognized, however, for what they are. They should be directed, therefore, always toward the stimulation of teacher-pupil relations. Guidance must come to permeate the entire educational program of the school; every teacher must participate in it as adviser, as class teacher, and as sponsor of student activities. The whole purpose of guidance, as Brewer insists, is to help pupils to formulate their own standards of behavior so that they may arrive at adulthood as better citizens, as better members of domestic and vocational groups, and as better individualities than they otherwise would have been.

Such educational outcomes must be promoted by multifarious and repeated pupil-teacher partnerships which promote guid-

ance. The effectiveness of any guidance organization must ultimately be measured not so much by its present success in reaching pupils through the members of a central staff of counselors as by its progressive enlistment of all teachers for voluntary and effective participation in guidance. The success of the organization is further demonstrated when parents, pupils, and desirable community agencies have been brought into active cooperation with the guidance program.

The Homeroom as an Instrument for Guidance

If you had been seated on one of the benches in Washington Square, somewhere near the statue of Garibaldi, you would have heard the shrill voices of half a dozen twelve year-old boys. It was an hour or more past the curfew time, if there had been a curfew, but there is no curfew in New York City. In the late spring the park is alive with children; their noise, from a little distance, has the same pervasive, unremitting quality that you are aware of if you live near a pond where a young frog chorus sings.

Above the background of street noises and shouting children, you would have heard the more urgent voices of a half dozen boys who, like a pack of baying hounds, were bearing down on a terrified youngster about their own age. When he gave up running and turned to face the pack, he sprayed over them a volley of vitriolic profanity that should have served to protect him against any ordinary attack.

If your ears had been able to filter out the profanity, you might have understood from the other words shouted by these youngsters that here at your elbow was an incident from the war that goes on forever between rival street gangs. The boy pursued had been caught out of bounds by these members of an enemy gang; he had been shining shoes on the east side of the Square, which was their territory, maintained inviolate by their own Monroe Doctrine. They had taken his shine box and polish and brushes. He had fled to save his hide, and

when they came upon him again near the statue of Garibaldi, his terror, rage, and vigorous profanity would not have saved him from a bad thrashing. But when he had an instant to collect himself, he began to scream insistent promises of how his gang would repay them if they touched him.

There was something persuasive in the menacing prospect, apparently, for the boys, still excited and angry, nevertheless let their prey escape again. He ran limping into the shadows of a side street, and no one followed him. There is no explaining what may have influenced the decision of those impetuous young barbarians to let him go—considerations that we know nothing about, those of us who sit on the safe side of a teacher's desk. But you would have remembered, out of that bedlam and fury, the strong magic of the syllables "MY gang . . . MY gang . . . "

It is fortunate that most boys and girls grow up in circumstances infinitely better than those which characterize life in the tenement section just south of Washington Square in New York City. But the human animal, even though we discard the notion of a "gregarious instinct," appears to have some fundamental need for membership in a gang. Youths, especially, show their preference for the peculiar kind of security one feels in being accepted as a member in good standing of a group which, both for protection and aggression, will be more effective than its individual members could be. The rugged individualist who scorns to run with the pack is the shaggy old wolf that has found the length of his fangs; but the cub wolves hunt together.

The homeroom group is a gang

When the homeroom idea really works, the homeroom group takes on some of the characteristics of a gang. It is a socialized gang with reputable purposes, but a gang, nevertheless, and it provides for all its members the element of courage and confidence they desperately need in a world that offers so many hazards. This gang spirit, this fellowship, this unity is not automatic. It does not occur spontaneously among thirty boys.

and girls merely because their names appear together on the list of students who are assigned to a certain room and a certain counselor. The homeroom spirit is an achievement. The integration of the thirty or more students into one group, with group solidarity, is accomplished by a selection or distillation of purposes and values, by a functional organization, by a unification of plans to accomplish the chosen purposes, and by adequate time and facilities to develop these plans in practice.

The homeroom counselor needs to have more than good intentions if he is to engineer situations so that this homeroom spirit develops. It takes "know-how." Perhaps it takes some good luck also, for there are combinations of youngsters that hit it off from the start, and there are other groups that never get together, no matter how skillful the teacher, no matter how many different devices are employed.

The "know-how," the science, the skill that a teacher needs for success in this position is rarely learned in courses. It is largely intuitive. It is the sensitivity to the group, the awareness of how the group will respond, the awareness of the organic character of the group and of the individuals who compose it. The skillful teacher knows which member of the group will be the natural leader in one situation, which will be the natural leader in another. He knows which students are weak in their loyalties and how to control situations so that these students may be saved from critical failures that would bring down on them the wrath of the group.

The homeroom spirit is achieved now and again by sheer accident, but it is much more frequently the result of *savoir-faire*. The homeroom teacher who is usually successful has a light touch and a skill that is comparable to the skill of a good surgeon, plus something of the skill of a good actor, a good casting director, and a good producer. The skillful homeroom counselor knows what *not* to do and when *not* to do it. This sense of timing, this awareness of the readiness of the group as a whole or of certain key members of the group is one of the factors that differentiates the master teacher from the others.

One who visits the public high schools frequently hears the statement, "We have given up the homeroom idea because we tried it and found it does not work. We scheduled homeroom periods, but we found that the students preferred to use the time for study, so we have reconverted the homeroom periods to study periods."

It is not surprising that the homeroom idea does not work in some situations. It would be a miracle if it did. There is nothing sacred about the homeroom idea, of course; and if the trend toward the integrated curriculum continues, the homeroom will be absorbed into the group activities that are characteristic of this newer plan. In the integrated curriculum a group of students of somewhat comparable age and interests spend the large part of each school week under the direction of one teacher. Their learning activities are not subject-matter lessons but are larger units that represent the integration of several subject-fields. The activities put a major emphasis on the value of purposes and plans determined and developed by the group with the friendly help of the older and wiser person who is their teacher. But here we have most of the values that are available now in the homeroom, where the homeroom is more than an administrative unit.

Recipe for failure

It is not surprising that the homeroom idea fails to work in some schools. It is not accomplished by an *obiter dictum*. Indeed, it is not accomplished by command. The real homeroom is essentially a work of art. It needs system, of course; but system alone does not guarantee its success. The principles to observe in setting up a homeroom are not only mechanical. Every new homeroom group is an experiment in education, and those who participate in the experiment must have elbow-room, must have a range of freedom within which they can make choices. If the principal of the school (or some other official representing him) sets all the purposes and settles all the policies—just to make sure they are good ones—then the

whole project is cast in the mold of authority and there is no room for growing and no incentive to do anything except to conform.

It is a common error of administrators to come to see the school as something to administer. They constantly add administrative "improvements,"—new regulations, new forms to fill out and file, new schedule complexities. The school becomes an intricate temperamental machine that can be kept running smoothly only when every teacher and every student watches all the signals and follows in exact cadence every motion of the prescribed routine. If anybody misses a signal, the whole machine may go hay-wire with a terrible grating and clanking of gears. Then the principal and all his mechanics will come a-running to repair it and be furious with the one who bungled.

In a school that has become a machine, it is inevitable that the homeroom should be considered by the officials as just one cog-wheel in the whole machine. It is purely an administrative unit then. Its purpose is to check attendance, make announcements, and carry out the details prescribed from the control room by the chief engineer. In our way of thinking, it is no homeroom at all, but there are thousands of high schools where the cogwheel is called a homeroom.

The number of homeroom experiments that have gone on the rocks, or are surely foundering right now, is great enough to justify the statement that no other agency of the modern school requires more careful supervision. By supervision we do not mean, of course, administrative direction, an intensive program of hit-and-run inspections, or a series of mimeographed programs *ex cathedra*. Supervision of the kind needed must start months before the homeroom idea is launched in any school—"launched" is an appropriate expression—the teachers who are to be homeroom advisers will act as navigators of the homeroom fleet, and before they take on their crew or put out from shore, there are many things they will need to know. They will want to know their destination, of course—what purposes the homeroom can serve in the school. And they

will want to know something about wind and weather, fog and shoals and channels, if they are to bring their vessels into port without mishap.

Some teachers have grown up in the pre-homeroom era. They did not know in their experience as students anything of the kind they are now asked to direct. And it is incontestably true that "we tend to teach as we were taught, rather than as we were taught to teach." It is in the high school rather than the normal college or university that the teacher gets most of his convictions concerning desirable educational practice. It is understandable, but sometimes regrettable. The teacher who has not himself been a successful student member of a homeroom group will have no such assurance in directing a group as another teacher who can recall from his own experience the purposes he shared when a member, the obligations he discharged when an officer of a homeroom. This problem will solve itself as fast as good homeroom practice becomes general and a new generation with a clear recollection of pleasant student adventures grows up to carry on the homeroom tradition. In the meanwhile, there are many teachers who will need sympathetic help and encouragement with a difficult assignment.

We may all rejoice that there is as yet no formalized, standardized, ritualized body of practices for homerooms. Neither are there syllabi or examinations. Yet it is true, fortunately, that there are many sources now available in which a homeroom sponsor may read about practices that are widely accepted and usually successful. It is no longer necessary for any teacher to plead ignorance of how homerooms occupy profitably all the time allowed them on the schedule—the weekly period and the shorter daily periods which are usual in progressive high schools. It was lack of *savoir-faire* that limited the success of many homeroom counselors when practice was wholly experimental. But the former complaint, "We don't know what to do in the homeroom period," has changed to "We don't know how to get all the things done that we have planned for the period."

The family doctor

To discuss the significance of the homeroom as an important phase of the whole plan for guidance in a high school introduces the relationship of the homeroom to the central guidance office, if the high school has a special guidance officer. The question is asked, "What guidance functions will be performed by the homeroom teacher, and what functions will be reserved for persons who are trained in guidance work?"

Asked that way, the question is a loaded one. It is loaded with inferences and assumptions that are not in the context of this discussion. It is a question that imposes the idea of guidance as something separate and apart from experiments in associational living. It carries the whole discussion back to the notion that guidance is screening students or herding them into the right corrals, or giving them facts upon which they may make their own decisions concerning courses, careers, colleges, and so on.

In this book we are holding out for a broader view of guidance. It is true enough that students must be assisted in getting information about themselves and about courses and careers. But wise choices are much more likely if the students have been given a great deal of practice in making decisions of all kinds, decisions that are a natural part of everyday living. Shall we have a picnic or a matinee party? If we have a picnic, where shall we go?—and how shall we get there?—and how much will it cost? And the decisions each student must make. Since I am twenty minutes late, shall I go to my first-period class or kill the rest of the period in the washroom? Shall I spend fifty cents for lunch or save half of that for a sundae after school? Should I get a manicure before the prom or do my own nails?

Guidance for college entrance, guidance for the choice of a curriculum, guidance for the choice of a vocation—these are important matters that require a great deal of accurate and up-to-date information. In a high school of two or three hundred students there ought to be one member of the faculty who is

qualified to advise students, parents, and teachers on these matters. It is desirable that he have some special training in career counseling. In a larger high school there should be a full-time specialist whose duties may be similar to those indicated in Chapter Nine of this book. As a matter of convenience the guidance specialist and the homeroom teachers may co-operate in the development of a plan in which the homeroom counselor gives some special assistance in certain phases of the vocational and educational counseling.

But the homeroom counselor is, in our philosophy, a tactical officer with a command of his own and a mission of his own. He is important not because he sends attendance reports to the principal's office, and not because he can at times be helpful in planning schedules or advising about the special interests a student has that may be of significance in his choice of an elective subject. He is important in the guidance organization because he is the one person in the school who knows all the members of his group in terms of their day-to-day growth, their fears and failures, their success and aspirations. He knows these students as the family doctor knows his patients, and like the family doctor, he knows when he needs to call in a specialist for consultation or for professional services that only a specialist can render.

The relationship between the specialist and the generalist is simple enough to work out on paper. In practice, however, there has been a disposition for many teachers and others concerned to make it appear that there was an inevitable feud between advocates of guidance as the exclusive province of specialists and those of guidance as a process in which specialists were not necessary and not welcome. It is obvious that there is no one formula, however. And it is urged in this volume that in every situation large enough to afford the services of a specialist, there should be a guidance specialist to carry on the duties that can be done most economically by a person with special interest and training. The feud between counselors (specialists) and teachers (generalists) does not exist except where it is incited by some person or persons who have an

iron in the fire, or some personal advantage that is being promoted at the expense of the kind of harmony and professional team-work that would develop naturally.

It is one of the shortcomings of educational practice that we tend to go to extremes. We have oversimplified most issues by cataloging certain practices as "progressive" and others as "traditional." We have gone all-out for counseling, or we have condemned the counselors and have turned the whole guidance job over to teachers. The pendulum swings, but it is not at one side or the other so often as it is in between. Schools that have lived through several reversals of policy finally discover the advantages of combining the merits of thesis and antithesis. The engine develops functional power when the positive and the negative, the up-stroke and the down-stroke, are converted through the medium of a reciprocator.¹

The raw material for a homeroom

A homeroom group or "section" customarily consists of from thirty to forty students. The number may be smaller or larger, depending on the enrollment in the school, the number and size of the rooms available, and other variables. Optimally, the members of the homeroom group should have a period of fifteen or twenty minutes in their assigned room every school day, with at least one full period sometime during the week. The short period usually comes just before the first scheduled class period in the morning. It affords time for accomplishing administrative details, making announcements, holding short personal conferences, and planning the lesser details of projects in which the group is engaged.

During the homeroom periods matters of school policy and regulations are discussed and interpreted. Usually the homeroom group is represented by one or more delegates in the grade council or the student council. The selection of the delegates and the consideration of measures on which the council has acted or will act takes some of the time that the group has avail-

¹ Cf. Clifford P. Froehlich, "Teacher-Counselors vs. Homeroom Guidance," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (September 1946), pages 41-43.

able. To conduct its business expeditiously the homeroom is customarily organized according to the parliamentary convention, with a president, secretary, and several other officers that may be needed.

The use of parliamentary organization and procedure is so common that the belief appears to be prevalent that they were ordained. It is desirable that, somewhere in their high school experiences, the students have an opportunity to learn the basic skills that one must have to preside effectively at a business meeting or a deliberative assembly. A clear view of the matter, however, will show that the formal procedures that evolved during several centuries in the British Parliament are not the only ones by which a group may make decisions.

There is a widespread notion that one sure way of being democratic is to decide every issue by putting it to a vote and by following the will of the majority. For many reasons this procedure is arbitrary, and there is much to be said for the Quaker method of talking things out until there is complete agreement—unanimous consent. This method consumes more time than calling for a majority decision, but in situations involving major policies it is well to get complete agreement.

The conference procedure, in recent years refined and widely used in labor-management discussions and other situations requiring that every shade of opinion be heard and weighed in trying for agreement, is another way of accomplishing a "meeting of the minds." It is quite as fair as the conventional "rules of order." Indeed, it is simpler to learn and may often be fairer, for it does not permit some slick parliamentarian to control a situation in such a manner as to controvert the real desire of the group.

The question of what organization and what procedures will serve a homeroom best must be settled locally, but there is no prescribed form. It is quite common for the homeroom to spend weeks or months in drawing up and adopting a constitution and by-laws. But this procedure is not necessary, it is not realistic, and it is usually a dull piece of business that smothers interest in the homeroom before it gets started. A homeroom

group is not a group of free agents, and its constitution is valid only if it is approved by the principal and other school officials in whom authority is actually vested.

Instead of a constitution, prepared with so much trouble and so artificial in form and purpose, the homeroom group should function under a simple charter that states clearly the duties, responsibilities, and privileges it conveys. The charter represents the fact that the principal and other officials of the school delegate some of their authority in consideration of the willingness of the group to take over certain responsibilities. The charter may be withdrawn for cause by the officials who have granted it. This provision is not undemocratic in principle for it parallels the practice within the states where every county and city and village and town is incorporated under a charter granted by the legislature of the state.

The composition of the homeroom group

Each homeroom is composed of a number of students who have been chosen for membership in the group by one or another method. The preparation of the homeroom lists is universally considered an administrative function and is accomplished in the principal's office. There are several factors that may be taken into account in the preparation of the homeroom lists. It is quite general practice to have a homeroom group composed of students who are all of one grade, but there are "homogeneous" groupings, random groupings, segregated groupings, and groupings based on the students' curriculum or special interests. Opinions, prejudices, and experiences are all bound up in the justifications offered for one form of grouping or for another. The criterion, however, should be not mere doctrinaire theory but the actual degree to which students of both sexes, of all races, ages, and intelligence, find the stimulation and security without which their school life must lack the quality desirable for normal development. Under one set of school conditions, the authors have found that grouping students by curricular interests seemed to satisfy this criterion; under another set, we have found that "ability grouping" was

Certificate Of Honor

June 22nd

1934

We the boys of room 25 of the
class of 1934 present
this charter to our teacher,
Miss Terry
for the good work and
encouragement which she
has given us this past
year.

The Class Of Room 25
Donald E. Smith

Euan Anholt	Carl Veltre
Jerome Hammel	Ronald Kohl
Edward Domestig Jr	Andrew Statean
Morton Jaffer	Billy Franklin
William Sappert	Michael Jank
Frank Alick	Bedros Tarkay
F. Philip Valentine	Donald Johnston
House Phillips	Robert Schorring
John Mc Donald	Vernon Clark
Franklin Brown	Kenneth Alvarez
James Wells	Charles Butler
Stanley Melchers	Joseph Bolgiano
John Needham	Bill Ward
Sigmund Hogenwark	Lewis Miller
	Drew Wheeler

satisfactory. Some different plan might have been equally successful, if intelligently determined and administered.

Except that it seems in most instances administratively expedient, there is no reason why a homeroom group should be made up of students who are all of one school grade. In fact, there would be a great advantage in having each homeroom composed of students from two or more grades. Whatever procedures were tested, whatever traditions were developed, would be handed on from the older students—those in the higher grades—to the younger ones. The homerooms would not lose their momentum. The plan has its uses in many of our social institutions: the United States Senate, the local Boards of Education, the university councils, the governing boards of banks, and those of foundations and other permanent institutions are commonly planned so that no more than one-third of the members will retire from office at any one time. The stability so assured is something that many teachers would appreciate in our homeroom practice, for as it is now we usually have to start afresh at the beginning of each academic year, and the group may be just developing a certain team spirit when the end of the term comes and the group is dissolved. The "house plan" employed in some private schools and in some colleges would be analogous to a homeroom group where two or more grades were represented.

Counselor, mediator, advocate

The homeroom counselor is usually responsible for keeping the attendance records of the group and also for social guidance—the *constructive* disciplinary measures. In a school where policies have been fully considered, the homeroom counselor is never responsible for punitive or corrective disciplinary processes. On the contrary, he is the friend in court for every member of his group. He represents them as a lawyer would represent his clients. He protects them in every way he can from the pressure of rules and regulations and from the occasional unfairness of student officers or of teachers or of the great impersonal thing that is the school itself.

The homeroom counselor helps to smooth out difficulties. He coaches his students as to how they must represent their own interests best when they have got into trouble. He must be consistent and unflagging in his professional devotion to his group and to the individual members. His friendship for them increases in direct proportion to their need for friendship, for support, for wise counsel, and he is the one who will go bond for the future good conduct of the student who has been culprit and who has been put on probationary status. This role, it will be noted, is a very different one from the role played by the conventional teacher, who is judge and jury, avenging angel, unforgiving and relentless foe of any wayward youth who shows a disposition to disregard the customs, the *mores*, or constituted authority.

The homeroom adviser² is unofficial or *ex officio* member of all the committees the group establishes to carry on its program—committees on attendance and punctuality, publications, assembly programs, social events, academic standing, school property, personal property, welfare activities, and many others. But the adviser does not obtrude his opinions. He gives advice only when asked or when the group is obviously in danger of acting on an unwise decision. He is more active, however, in helping the group to find the bottle-necks, the problem elements in any situation.

For many reasons it is desirable for the homeroom counselor to become personally acquainted with the parents of the members of his group. It is a widespread custom to have "parents' night" or a visiting day when parents are given some special inducement to come to the school and to meet the principal and the teachers, including the homeroom counselor, who represents the school's closest tie with the family. It is also common practice for teachers to make themselves available for

² Several terms are used more or less interchangeably—homeroom adviser, homeroom counselor, homeroom teacher. We have used the several terms in this way partly for variety and partly because these and other terms are common in publications in the field. Each term seems to have some inherent disadvantage, it is hoped that with time some new term, generally accepted, will come into use.

conferences with parents, usually by appointment and during the teacher's "free" period or at some other time when he is not scheduled for classes. There is much to be said, however, for the extension of the practice of having the homeroom counselor visit the homes of his group members.

Home visiting is frequently cited as the function of a specialist, the "visiting teacher." It is correct that the visiting teachers, who are a refined and professionalized version of the official we used to know as the truant officer, perform a valuable service. But it confuses the whole issue to intimate that the homeroom counselor (or any other member of the school faculty who has a reason to visit) should remain in the school building and let someone else do the visiting for him. The many schools where home visits are a part of the regular procedure have thoroughly demonstrated the value of these visits.

The policy of visiting the homes of the students must be set up with great professional care, and all teachers who participate must be briefed to assure the success of their efforts. Certain principles of visiting are consonant with the philosophy of guidance maintained throughout this book. For example, the teacher should make it a point to visit only after he has established a degree of rapport with the student at whose home he is to call. *He should make his first visit on an occasion when he has some significant commendation to convey to the parents.* He should make clear to the parents the special interest he has in the member of their family who is also a member of his family—his official family.

It is sometimes said that teachers will do more damage than good in making home visits because they are untrained in the special techniques of making a visit. This is poppycock. If teachers visit homes because they are genuinely interested in the students whose homes they visit, their interest and their friendliness and courtesy will be sensed by the parents and will be the basis for such a bond between the home and the school as rarely exists. A Parent-Teacher Association is almost always a necessary adjunct of the school, but the program of a "PTA" rarely gives the degree of rapprochement that can be got (with the

investment of less effort) by a series of professional calls at the homes of the students.

No one among his teachers understood Eddie. He was a brilliant youngster and came from "a good family." His parents had visited the school several times on those occasions when parents were especially invited. But Eddie's homeroom teacher went home with the boy one evening after school and had tea with Eddie's mother. Eddie did not have tea, but he was there, and the act he put on revealed to the teacher the fact that the boy was the victim of his mother's pampering and silly sentimentalism. In half an hour the teacher discovered, for himself and for the other teachers who wanted to help the boy, the facts they had lacked. In talking about his visit the teacher said to the principal, "You know—I used to be so annoyed by that kid that I wanted to shake him. But I don't feel that way now. I have a strong affection for him. He is desperately in need of help right now—he is trying to escape from a pattern of pampered infantilism, and he can't break the pattern because of his mother's habit of babying him. I think we can make a man out of him. I have a plan now, and I'm working on it."

Nothing in guidance practice is more exciting than to hear the reports of the teachers who have made professional calls in the homes of their students. One teacher went home with one of her girls one afternoon after school. The parents were Italian-Americans, and they had from their old-world background a profound respect for Teacher. Teacher was a very special guest that afternoon. All the family and relatives were there to meet Teacher, and some of the friends of the family came in. There was wine, of course, and cake. Then the teacher must stay for dinner—nothing else would do. And it was a real Italian dinner and the quality of the food was excelled only by the hospitality. For the teacher it was a new and moving experience to be so genuinely welcomed and so graciously entertained in the home of one of her students.

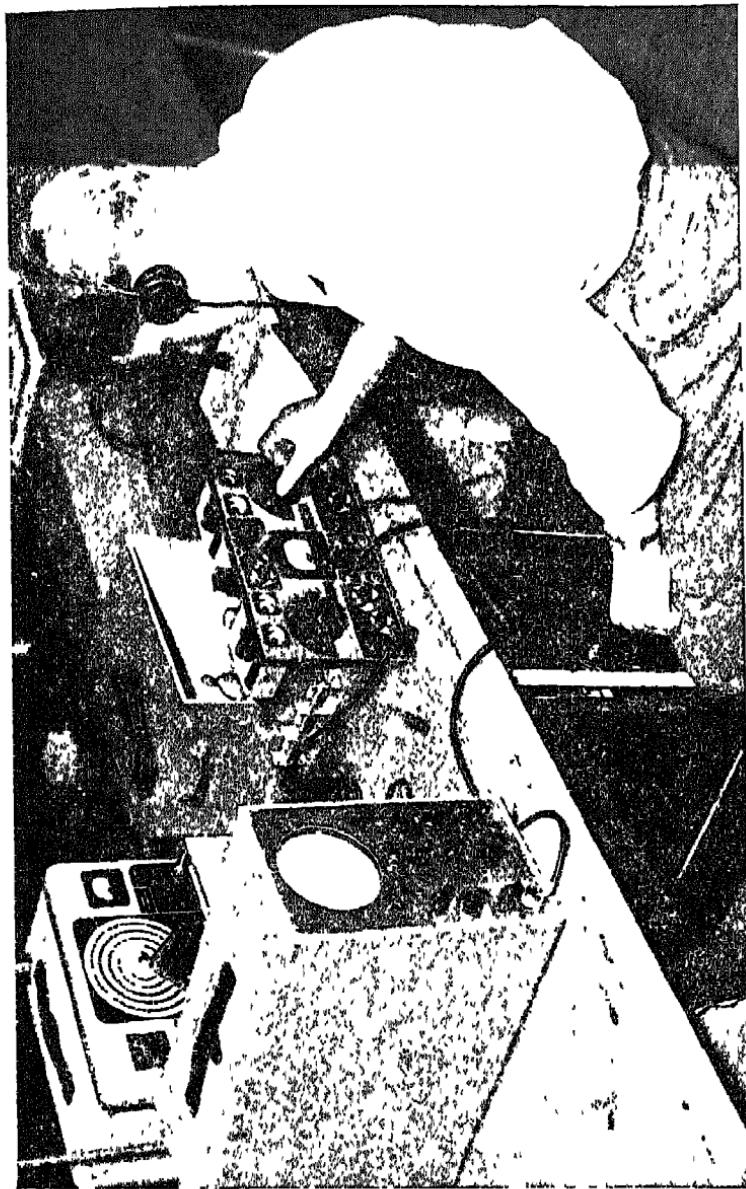
(There is a footnote to this story that must be included, even though it seems to indicate that there are some hazards at-

tached to this visiting procedure: The teacher, glowing with wine and hospitality and spaghetti and chicken, finally bid good evening to Rosa and the members of her family and made her way to the street, escorted by Rosa. But at the door she was met by another one of her homeroom group, Carmella. Carmella had been waiting a long time for her and she must go to visit Carmella's home, which was not far away. The teacher sensed that it would be best to go along, though this second visit was not on her schedule. The second visit was like the first--Carmella's family was present *en masse*, and the teacher was again the guest of honor at a special dinner! . . .)

There is nothing new about home visits. The teacher in Whittier's *Snowbound* was visiting the families of some of his students. His visit was different only in that it was longer, for he was hired by the parents of the students he taught, and his compensation included board and lodging, a few weeks with each family. (And he helped with the chores!) Perhaps there was something in that situation that the architects cannot supply in the palatial buildings they design for our high school programs. It may be possible to recapture the essence of it if we learn how to meet our students and their friends and relatives in their homes.

Chisholm includes home visiting as a function of the homeroom counselor: "It is well for the homeroom teacher to make a personal call on each home represented in his room. This contact is not necessarily recommended in the case of classroom teachers for all their pupils. Under present-day conditions, it becomes almost an impossibility so far as classroom teachers are concerned. The homeroom teacher, however, has a relatively small number of pupils and for a considerably longer period of time than has the classroom teacher. Home visits, therefore, become a real and practical possibility for him."⁸

⁸ Leslie L. Chisholm, *Guiding Youth in the Secondary School* New York American Book Company, 1945, p. 344



EXPLORATION IN THE LATITUDES

Philadelphia Public Schools

Two plans for every bell

In not a few schools it is the custom to have all homerooms follow programs prepared by a faculty committee, a director of homerooms or some member of the administrative staff. The programs are frequently outlined in detail, scenario-like. They are related to the calendar of national holidays and the many other observances that schools discover or have foisted on them. Thrift Week, Safety Week, Courtesy Week, Be-Kind-to-Animals Week, National Apple Week, and so on.

The advantages of a prescribed program are largely offset by the natural limitations of any plan that impairs the freedom of the homeroom groups to innovate or to use their precious homeroom period for purposes much more vital to them than most of the long-range plans hatched up by expert planners. When there is a homeroom bike-hike and steak-fry in prospect and last minute details are to be worked out, what must be the attitude of the ninth-grade group when the presiding officer opens the meeting and announces that the prescribed program for the period will be a socialized discussion of punctuality!

An alternative to a prescribed program is a suggested program. The best laid plans of any homeroom leader sometimes go astray, and the bell signaling the opening of the period may find that several prospects for a good meeting have evaporated. The suggested plan is available as a contingent plan, and the group is saved the disgrace of being obliged to waste a period in improvised "study," or in forthright dawdling. It is inconceivable that a Latin teacher or an English teacher or a teacher of any of the traditional subjects would find himself facing a class without any plans or without even a hunch as to how the period might be used profitably, but subject-matter teachers, in their other role of homeroom advisers are sometimes blandly indifferent to the possibilities easily potential in the homeroom meeting, and they hear the bell for the opening of the period with nothing more than gentle faith that Providence will intervene, that by some gracious miracle the group will be inspired and the meeting will be a success.

No matter how fervently we swear our belief in the principle of student activity, the teacher must still teach. The homeroom teacher must teach—there is no *subject* to teach, but there are boys and girls who must be guided through the mazes where one learns essential social conventions. In the homeroom and the other face-to-face groups pupils learn through practice some of the fundamental social ideals. Most of them they learn intuitively, of course, for there is more truth and punctuality and loyalty than ever we have time to talk about. They learn these ideals and their applications in their subject classes as well, but in the homeroom period, more than in any class period, the individual student may become aware of his personal value to a social group (*Ich bin ein uch!*), of his obligations to the group, and of his claim upon the group. These are aspects of education that the public high schools in this democracy have been established to provide. In terms of the primary aims of American education, the marks of the highest honor and greatest glory may be reserved for the homeroom teachers who perceive their opportunity and improve it.

Experimental social mechanics

A man who operates a machine is commonly expected to know some of the details of its mechanism. He should know something more than what makes the wheels go 'round. We must learn some of the intricacies of the great social machine, for we are at the same time the drivers and the cogs. It is a machine so complex and so clumsy, so creaking and so inefficient, that it is in need of constant repair, and the drivers must take turns at being inventors and repairmen. (A meeting of the Ladies' Aid, a session of the House of Representatives, a national convention of one of the major political parties, or a meeting of the local Board of Education will provide illustrations of how frequently our established social machinery is subject to lapses into low-gear efficiency or complete breakdown.)

Except for a few who choose to retreat to the mountains or the deserts to lead a hermit existence, a large part of our educa-

tion, formal and informal, verbalized and intuitive, is a study of social mechanics. The big executive buys a copy of the new book on "how to get along with people," and the young man who has just graduated from diapers goes to nursery school to take up some research on the same subject.

A college degree, if it has any meaning at all, is a certificate of the fact that the persons to whom it has been awarded have a fuller appreciation of what people are, of what they do, and of why they do it. The homeroom in the junior or senior high school is a laboratory for experimentation toward that same end. The homeroom organization is a social machine, relatively simple and foolproof. We may dismantle it and build it up again many times. Every member is a necessary cog, and everyone must qualify as driver and mechanic.

The tacit assumption is that the benefits of this type of experience will carry over from the relatively controlled environment of the school to the panic and confusion, or the more regrettable complacency and indifference, in which many adult enterprises are carried on. There is no way to guarantee this transfer; but it is a certainty that unless youths learn essential social ideals and techniques, men will not know them. A young robin that is raised by hand and allowed to fly when it is old enough to fly will find another robin as a mate and carry on its robin's business in good form, guided by an automatic instinct as certain as tomorrow's sunrise. But the business of being effective men and women must be learned, step by step, without the benefit or hinderance of highly complex instincts. In such relatively small groups as the homeroom groups, boys and girls will learn to plan and to bring about better social institutions, using the many aspects of the school that can be changed and changed again experimentally, they will have real practice in the methods through which they may some day improve their village and the world.

Probably few teachers are fully aware of the immensity of the task they face. St. George against the dragon had a simple task—our dragons are not so easily slain, and they do not stay dead. Problems do not stay solved, pupils do not stay taught;

the classroom is never strong enough to right all the wrongs that have been done by a clumsy world. Probably no teacher dares to dwell very long on the size of the problems we face, for our illusions would not be great enough to sustain us if we measured realistically how great are the odds against us. The miracle is that there are so many teachers who accept the odds and play and win. It is to the everlasting glory of our profession that so many try.

The Club Program as an Instrumentality for Guidance

IN SPITE of the hazard involved there are still persons who feel the urge to prophesy concerning the future—education of the future, schools of the future, the curricula and methods of the future. And it is our belief that any urge to foretell the course of education can be gratified with most assurance if the prophet will take his clue from the activities that make up the best kind of club program. In the following pages we shall sketch the outlines of this "best" kind—the kind that is best, at least, for carrying on the kind of guidance we are elaborating in this book.

New oil for the old lamp

The importance of the club program in any school is directly proportional to the degree in which the classroom subjects are formalized. The likelihood that boys and girls will find dynamic purposes in the content of the conventional subjects taught conventionally according to a crystallized syllabus is very small. In such a school as we can easily envision, but too rarely find, the whole school program is so liberally conceived and executed that there is no real need for club. Every class will have the merits of a good club, the spontaneity and dynamic interest which are hard to find today except in club work. But no one wants to hold his breath until the great day comes when all schools are like this—it will be some years coming. Until the general practice is much improved, school clubs will serve as a vehicle for the many good things that the formal subject program leaves undone.

Most club programs are fostered with the hope that they will serve as a leaven in the school—will directly and indirectly influence the content and method used in the classroom, especially in schools where the dead hand still writes the orders for the day. It stands to reason that the introduction of club activities and other phases of informal school procedure will either serve as a kindling spark for the liberalization of the whole school, or will be smothered under the wet blankets of the formalists. No school can have a Jekyll-Hyde nature, spontaneous and brilliant one period, dull and stereotyped the next.

To borrow a famous statement—A school divided against itself cannot stand. Either it will be all slave or all free. There is always the possibility that the club work will win out, that boys and girls sold down the river to the academicians will be emancipated for a new freedom.

Bowleg clubs and bottled-in-bond

In our high schools there are clubs and clubs. They are not all of one kind. They do not all serve the same ends or observe the same principles. It was to be expected that as soon as the club idea became popular in school practice, some administrators, ignorant or disingenuous, would quickly seize upon the word "club." Students who were behind in arithmetic were kept in after school for extra drill and were told to consider themselves the Keep-Up-in-Arithmetic Club.

Even some of the clubs offered during the school day were nothing more than socialized recitations in the traditional subject matter. Commonest of these are the English clubs that meet once a week for oral English "compositions." The current-events clubs also meet weekly in the social science department. These are almost uniformly popular with pupils, especially when they represent a letdown from the exactments of the textbook recitations. But they are not *clubs* in the sense in which we are using the word here. They are not clubs because their activities are prescribed by the teachers, and because they are spirit and flesh of the course of study, linked closer

than Siamese twins to the subject-matter recitations, linked by the bond of grades and marks, the teacher's record book, and the report cards.

Even those activities that have thus far escaped the syllabi and the grade record and have other outward signs of being good are sometimes apples of Sodom. For unless the desired spirit is in the activities of the club, and in the hearts of the children and the sponsor, the work may be as dull and distasteful as the most formal syllabus teaching. It will be necessary, therefore, to look deep into the character of any certain club if one is to evaluate it in terms of its potentialities for guidance. It is not a guidance agency just because it is a club, but only because it possesses certain possibilities of adventure for boys and girls and for the adult who is its sponsor.

*Clubs that spring from the curriculum,
but don't spring far enough*

A few years ago the idea was generally accepted and is still widely held that a good club program is one that derives from the curriculum and does not stray very far afield. The program was held to be most worthy when it stayed quite close, close enough to buttress the classroom instruction in the subject field to which it was directly related. There were English clubs and geography clubs and science clubs, all of these annexed to the subject department and sponsored by the subject teacher. Worst of all, they commonly used very much the same material as a club that they used as a class, and the method was not very different either.

The essential difference between the club and the class was that the club met during the period designated for clubs, and its members were shuffled up by some degree of selection; and, in theory, the club activities were not charged either as debits or credits on the students' grade account.

The inherent disadvantage of these quasi-curriculum clubs is that they either fail to get off the ground, or else they use up all the buoyancy that should be used to lighten the class work.

There are many occasions when a subject club is desirable

and justifies itself when measured by the strictest criteria, particularly when the club is proposed by students whose interest in the subject is so great that the class periods do not allow them time or opportunities for the pleasant excursions they have projected up the by-paths that lead off from the main highway that is the course of study. Since students in the more advanced grades are naturally more able than younger ones to see for themselves the opportunities the subject gives for activities which are, in the truest sense of the word, "extra-curricular," it is in the upper secondary grades that subject clubs seem most natural. Here interests are a little more stable, and the students are more willing to submit to the self-imposed discipline necessary for intensive investigation.

To sum up the point in the form of a generalization. The school faculty planning to introduce a club program can do much better than start with the core curriculum as the basis for activities. The further the clubs depart from the conventional subject matter, the wider the exploratory value to the students participating. To start the program shackled to the traditional curriculum is to share with it the baggage of social lag. Classroom practice advances, but slowly and painfully, freighted with a load of outworn conventions. The club program will serve itself and the curriculum better if it goes on ahead with a light pack to blaze the trail.

Who's initiative starts a club?

Somebody always asks the question, "Who will propose the club—the students or the sponsor?" The answer to this question is the answer to another: "Which foot shall I put forward first when I wish to walk?" It does not matter which—sometimes one, sometimes the other. Both have to be in motion if any significant progress is to be made. Once in a long time you may see a club successful in spite of an indifferent sponsor, but it need not be argued in detail that the recipe for a successful club begins: "Secure one interested, enthusiastic, tactful adult to act as sponsor."

Sometimes the impetus comes from the students first. When

several of them have discovered some intense common interest and wish to form a club based on this interest so as to exploit it most successfully, they should be encouraged to do so and a sponsor should be provided to help them, a sponsor who either shares their interest or is willing to be curious about it. Certainly one should not be assigned who is actively disinterested, a spoilsport, out of sympathy with the purposes the club has set up. Better no sponsor at all. Indeed, many school clubs, especially in the upper secondary grades, carry on very well without a sponsor. If the club is a mixed group and it seems well to assign a teacher as a kind of chaperon, one may be assigned. But she is a chaperon, not a sponsor—the club is still without a sponsor. The obligations of a sponsor should never be assumed lightly, and the prestige that is due a sponsor must not be claimed by anybody who has not fairly won title to it by the superior type of professional service it involves.

In the early universities the students enjoyed a great deal more autonomy than is conventional today. A group of students who wanted to know more about canonical law, let us say, would scout around until they found somewhere a man learned in the subject who, for whatever consideration they agreed upon, was willing to instruct them. The practice is completely reversed now, and a faculty of instructors issues a thick catalog listing the courses they offer to teach and then go scouting for students. It would be difficult to say that either procedure is better than the other, but the later one is administratively simpler and better adapted to the conditions that pertain since education has been popularized. For a somewhat similar reason it is administratively simpler to launch a club program by having each teacher offer two or three clubs. When the students have made their choice, the less popular clubs offered are left out, are not organized, are held in reserve until there is a demand for the activities they promise. The others are formed, and sponsor and students work together to revise and elaborate the prospectus for each club, then effect an organization and make a program.

Each teacher, with the help of the faculty committee on clubs,

or the principal, has offered several clubs, sketching as attractively as possible the activities recommended. The teacher who is an enthusiastic collector of crystals, or postcards, or autographs has written and rewritten the advertisement for his club—for it is an advertisement—packing into it all the sales appeal he can find in hopes of winning the interest of some students who will choose his club and share his hobby. A copy of the club prospectus list goes to every student, and for a week there is a great deal of animated discussion. Students who have chosen a club that represents their own hobby become self-appointed promoters or recruiting officers for that club. They buttonhole their friends in the corridor and urge this club above all others. During the homeroom period they appeal for interest in this club and guarantee its success.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Uniontown, Pa

CLUB PROSPECTUS, SECOND SEMESTER

ARCHERY AND GOLF boys, 7, 8, 9. Mr Harned, Room 18

This club will study the principles of golf, the rules of the game and the technique, and the science of archery (bow and arrow) and the combination of these two fine sports, now very popular, called Archery-Golf. Boys who join must be provided with either golf clubs or archery set.

ARTS CRAFT CLUB girls, 8-9. Miss Chester, Room 10.

This club will learn a variety of arts craft work, depending on which subjects appeal to most of the members. Gesso, paper-rope weaving, raffia weaving, flower making, textile painting, and many other crafts may be studied. The expense will depend upon the crafts studied and the choice of the individual student in making products. Many useful and beautiful gifts will be made by the members of this club. Present members have priority.

BEADED-BAG CLUB girls, 7, 8, 9 Miss Chisholm, Room 4

The girls in this club first learn to knit, then some of them make knitted garments, while others make beaded bags. The expense depends upon the choice made by the individual. Every girl is required to furnish herself with some work to do, but it may be whichever kind of knitting she wishes to do. This is the second year for this club. It is always popular.

CAMERA CLUB boys and girls, 7, 8, 9 Mr Parnell, Room 22
To be a member of this club you should own a camera or have the use of one. The members learn how to take good pictures, how to develop them and print them, and how to make trick pictures of their friends. They take many pictures of the school activities and make prints to be preserved in our School Log. Sometimes the club goes on a hike to take outdoor pictures.

CARTOON CLUB boys and girls, 7, 8, 9 Mr McKenzie, Room 8
Members of this club learn how to draw cartoons, study the work of famous cartoonists, and make cartoons for school campaigns and the Almanack. Some make collections of their favorite cartoons. There will be room in this club for as many as thirty students as the sponsor prefers to have an almost entirely new group next semester.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS boys, 8, 9 selected Mr Woods, the Shop
Do not apply for membership in this club unless you are skilled in woodworking, for only the best workers are admitted. The members make many projects for the school, bookracks, models, stage scenery, shelves, and so forth. There is no expense, as all material for this work is furnished by the school. Present membership given priority.

HOSTESS CLUB girls, 9. Miss Heyser, Room 2
This club is a continuation of the candy club, and, as present members have priority, there will be few vacancies. The second semester the girls will learn how to plan parties and party menus, make favors, serve party refreshments, and act as hostess at informal teas and receptions. The expense of membership will be according to the menus prepared, probably about fifty cents a month.

Youth is conservative

The best clubs are those that reveal to their members the possibilities of interests in new fields. Most high school students, thanks to the type of training we have given them, are unable or unwilling to venture very far on their own initiative. When asked to propose a list of clubs to be formed, they are pretty sure to respond with nothing whatever that is new or different. They use the old stereotypes gladly. They take the beaten path and give up readily the prospect of adventure. "Youth is conservative; youth is the Tory." Youth needs prodding and stirring. That is, youths subdued as we have subdued them in

the course of six or eight years of walking the chalk line and minding their curricular P's and Q's.

There are some schools, of course, where the students represent anything but this achieved docility. There are schools, indeed, where the students have somehow managed to keep intellectually alive and are interested in more things and better things than their teachers know about. But the "schools which are prophecies" are those where the teachers are mature adults, rich personalities with wide experience, real and vicarious, with some knowledge and some wisdom, but with much curiosity and a sharp zest for life. They are young people, whatever their age, and fit companions for youths. Their interests are stable but not static. They are the ones who can best be trusted to help boys and girls discover desirable interests and purposes for abundant living. They are the ones who may be able to restore to them whatever part of their birthright has been stolen by the blunders and stupidities of less favored teachers.

Miss Jones doubles in brass

Miss Jones "offered" the Calico-Cat-and-Dog Club, but when the club gets under way, it is not Miss Jones' club. It is the club's club. It honors the principle of purposeful student activity. If it does not, it is not a club—not in *our* lexicon. Yet there are some club sponsors who, either because of a misunderstood notion of the functions of a sponsor or an uncontrolled enthusiasm for the content the club deals with, tend to monopolize the planning and the meetings. By contrast, in the most successful clubs the sponsor is a member, an active member and one who can be counted on to keep interest burning high, but still a member and not necessarily any more active or any more responsible than some of the others.

At least, that is the role the sponsor acts. He is, naturally, more responsible than any other member, for in addition to his role as member he has also that of adviser—of guide, philosopher, and friend to every student in the club. His interest in the club transcends his interest in its stated purposes as recognized by the other members, for he is concerned about its use as an agency for guidance. He plays a part but is also stage

manager and a member of the production staff. If this seems too complex a position for the sponsor to take, then it may be admitted that few teachers at present are able to conceive such a part or carry it through. But they are the ones who make it worth while to write about clubs at all. There is nothing to be gained here by discussing in detail the work of mediocre sponsors of mediocre clubs.

Who must belong?

The question is always asked, "Should membership in clubs be required for all students?" The answer is, "Certainly." If clubs are as filled with potential advantages for the students as we claim they are, why should we allow any student to deprive himself of those advantages? Membership should be required. But not by dictum. It should be required by the only kind of pressure that is effective—by internal pressure, pressure inside of the student. Have faith enough in your club program to make it voluntary. Have faith enough in it to schedule it for the period before dismissal, and allow those who are not interested to go home if they wish to. Some of them will go home, maybe a third of them. But they will come back—if the club program is conceived and operated in such a way as to capitalize the normal interests of youngsters. They will come back, and they will believe in you and the club program more thoroughly than if you had required them all, whether or not, to belong to a club. They will belong because they want to, and the principal and club committee will not be worried about requiring, but about getting the club members to adjourn and go home at a seasonable hour.¹

¹ Note that this principle presupposes a situation in which the teachers are equipped with both the desire and the knowledge necessary to insure the success of a club program. There are many situations where it would be an unwise principle to use at the inauguration of an activity program but might serve as an ultimate goal for the administrator. Note also that the choice of the last period of the day for club activities allows little or no advantage in the many "central schools" whose students are transported daily by school busses. When the busses are scheduled to leave, the students must be ready to go, for some students have no other possible transportation and are stranded at the school if the bus goes without them.

As to the other way of requiring membership—by executive order, with penalties attached for failure to obey—that is probably warranted in some cases. It is warranted, let us say, if it is the set practice in your county for the sheriff to issue an order requiring all men and women, under pain of some great unpleasantness, to be active members of at least one of the adult clubs your community supports—the Wednesday Culture Club, the Apollo Handball Club, the Croquet and Skittles Club.

The student holding quotient

Unless you make club membership voluntary and let those go home who do not wish to belong, you have absolutely no way of measuring the value of your club program. At least, you have no objective way. But if membership is optional, then you have an excellent measure. The formula is C. A divided by T. E equals S. H. Q. The total enrollment of your school on a certain club day, divided by the club attendance (the total number of students who voluntarily went to the club meetings) will give you the Student Holding Quotient. If the S. H. Q. of your program is below .90, it means either (a) that your students are somehow abnormal in their interests and do not find satisfaction in doing the things that usually appeal to adolescents, or (b) your club program has failed in some degree to provide opportunities for the expression of normal adolescent interests. Very likely it is this second factor that is operating to lower the efficiency of your program, and you will need to make some revisions in your policies, or improve the club list or some individual clubs.

'The customer is always right'

For several reasons that could be offered, it is not yet the general practice to make club membership wholly optional. If it is required, as English and science are required, then there are some administrative problems that must be anticipated. What, for instance, will be done about Johnny Baroni (and a great many others like him) who, having joined the

Stamp Club, after three weeks of membership finds himself wholly indifferent to the activities of the zealous philatelists who run the club? Must he stay on until the end of the semester or death from acute ennui releases him? Must the club continue to be afflicted with a member whose indifference or skepticism is a constant menace to their enthusiasm for Numidian commemoratives and special antarctica? Or should Johnny be allowed, without too much ceremony and red tape, to transfer to the Quoit Club, which he wants to join? By all means, let Johnny transfer.

Perhaps it is worth while to require some checks to prevent wholesale transfers. The student may be asked to secure a copy of the *Club Transfer Form* and to submit it, with all the signatures required, to the chairman of the faculty committee on clubs. When the chairman has initialed the form, Johnny is a member of the Quoit Club, and his change of clubs is recorded on the several records that are kept, one by the faculty committee, one by his homeroom counselor, and one by the central office.

If the student's desire to transfer to another club was only a whim induced by some fancied slight, it will probably evaporate before he has gone through the various steps necessary to get his transfer. But if he is determined to drop out of the club he belongs to, no one will oblige him to remain. He will have no difficulty in gaining membership in some other club unless he has made himself unwelcome. In that case, the club he wishes to join may refuse, temporarily at least, to approve his membership. Theoretically, all clubs are open, but the clubs are allowed autonomy and no club should be expected to admit to membership a person who is known as a trouble-maker. Club membership is a privilege.

The student who is not acceptable to any club as a member may be required to spend the club periods in a room set aside for such unfortunates and called, for want of a better name, a study room. While he is a "member" of the study room, he will have an opportunity to consider how he may make

himself acceptable to the club he wants to join, and the teacher in charge of the study room will give him the benefit of sympathetic counsel, for it is this teacher's obligation to help with such adjustments and keep to a minimum the number of students not active members of clubs. In addition to an occasional student who has been expelled or suspended from membership in a club, and some others who have dropped out voluntarily, there will be in the study room several students who are un-social, who are too timid to enjoy informal participation and prefer to spend the club periods in diligent attention to their lessons. These are the students who represent the greatest challenge for the study-room teacher. By skillfully making all the arrangements, he may be able to secure the readjustment of these timid ones so that they become active, interested members of some club.

Spontaneity but not laissez faire

The word "spontaneous" is used so often in writing about school clubs that it is necessary to inject a word of explanation. It is necessary to make clear that a successful club is not one that trusts entirely to this much prized spontaneity. At least, it does not trust to inspiration, or good luck. Every meeting of a good club is planned, doubly planned. It is planned by the members of a program committee, without interference but with just enough help from the sponsor. It is doubly planned, for there is a contingent plan to use if the first one is upset. The Dramatic Club has planned to use the stage for rehearsal, let us say. But when the time comes, it may be necessary to give up the stage to the Dance Group. Then the contingent plan will probably save the Dramatic Club from the demoralizing experience of having nothing to do for the period. The most promising clubs go on the rocks if, owing to bad planning and bad management, there are two or three successive meetings when the members have nothing to do. A program committee that works things out for several weeks ahead can do much to guarantee the success of the club, and

it is allowable to request that every club submit to the faculty club committee (or the student council committee on clubs, or any other supervisory agency) a week in advance of the date an outline of the plans and contingent plans for the meeting. It is not the idea, of course, that the plans must be approved, but only that requesting plans in advance gives some assurance that they will be made and that the meeting will be a good one and that the club will be successful. Having plans does not spoil any of the adventure but enhances it, so long as the plans are made to serve the club, not the club to serve the plans.

Paper flowers grow at home

Almost all of the things that are worth doing are time consuming. It stands to reason, then, that one period a week of approximately sixty minutes would never in the world be enough time to indulge a really absorbing hobby. The club period represents only a small part of the time that the members, in most cases, spend on the activities about which the club centers. It is no more than a weekly convention of the aviation enthusiasts, a weekly rehearsal of the harmonica players, a weekly curb market for stamp traders. It is a revival meeting, an evangelical meeting, a confessional for all those who have faith, or can be converted to the faith, in archery, or chess, or radio, or paper flowers. Just as truly as religion is not something to practice one hour a week—from eleven until twelve, Sunday mornings—so these various worldly faiths are not held sacred to the club period but are practiced every day of the week and wherever time and circumstances allow. The club program that offers most for those who are active is the one that is filled with suggestions direct and indirect, of things to do between one meeting and the next. A club that fails in this in a large measure fails to become a significant factor in the lives of its members. It is something wholly incidental.

If we schoolmen were not so much in the habit of thinking in terms of scheduled periods with a set time and place for this and another for something else, and everything done piece-

meal, it would not be necessary to examine so carefully the policies we have used to govern school activities. Why, for instance, do we assume that one period a week is enough for club activities? Will not some clubs require much more time to do some of the things that are worth doing?

What price freedom?

It will never be possible to tell accurately or even approximately how much club programs have acted as a tonic for the old schools, how effective they have been in rejuvenating school curricula that were palsied, senile, and moribund. It is quite possible that they have induced modifications that, if they are not vast ones, will enable the old system to hold on for many years. The old order has avoided an educational revolution, in a manner of speaking, by providing free bread and circuses for the people. The elect will still be permitted to indulge themselves with paradigms and quadratics in exchange for the concessions the school has allowed the great unwashed—gladiatorial contests in the new stadia. Among a fairly large proportion of conscientious, respectable school administrators and their teachers there is still no real conviction that clubs and the rest have any place whatever in the school program. They have been permitted as a matter of expediency. Every day the horde of sans-culottes increases, but administrators still hope to preserve their Bourbon curriculum.

If the clubs and other life activities had not been allowed as a safety valve where rebellion and dissatisfaction could escape, the whole machine would have blown up long ago. The students would have risen in their might and marched on the high schools and torn them down until not one brick remained upon another. At least, they ought to have done that. Perhaps they will yet. And in the meanwhile we are free to ask ourselves the question, "Do not the students pay too high a price for their clubs and assemblies and carnivals when these activities are traded for precious hours given to learning the meaningless abracadabra of a dead culture?"

Alpha Beta Gamma and the others

A discussion of clubs as an agency for guidance probably entails some mention of the high school social fraternity. A great deal of ink has already been spilled in an attempt to decide once and for all what place fraternities shall have. It is obvious that, considering their origin, their purposes, and their methods, they are not part of such a club program as we have been discussing here. They probably get out of hand sometimes, but as often they can be used to promote the guidance ideal if the faculty sponsor accepts this ideal and recognizes what possibilities the fraternity offers for its promotion. Essentially, the high school fraternity is a vestige of the preclub era. It was necessary, perhaps, as an agency for providing something that the preclub academic high school did not offer. It survives because it does not know how to die gracefully, but it is almost dead and offers relatively small appeal for democratic students where it must compete for interest with a healthy club program.

Honor societies

While not essentially related to the club program any more closely than the high school social fraternities, the honor societies are potentially a more worthy guidance agency. Their potentiality lies in the fact that they may provide a desirable form of recognition for something that is eminently desirable among students—scholarship. The honor societies at present operate under the limitation imposed by the type of accomplishment that they identify as scholarship, for scholarship is taken to be success in passing examinations and meeting the other requirements set for those who wish high marks. It is possible that a student might be scholarly and still get high marks, but such marks more commonly signify only that the student has sacrificed his creative intelligence to the static purposes embalmed in a syllabus. The honor societies, wherever they allow genuine creative scholarship to be confused with nothing better than glorified docility, are no more than a part of the

sorry plan of extrinsic motivation for getting students to walk the academic chalk line.

No gong sounds

There may be a gong that sounds when the club period has ended, but there is no gong that rings automatically when a club has come to the end of its journey and ought to be dissolved. There are clubs that live as long as turtles. They outlast generation after generation of students. But there are other clubs whose life span resembles that of the May fly; they live, figuratively, only a single day. Time does not exist for the turtle or the May fly, and it is not a valid measure of the virtue a school club may attain. There have been clubs which sprang up in the middle of the school term, carried on an intensively interesting program for six weeks, and then dissolved completely. This can happen, of course, only where the administration of the club program is so flexible as to allow for the explosive bursts of new interest among students, and only where the sponsors and administrators realize how short-lived some of these interests must be. Nothing is worse than to see a club trying to carry on long after it has run its course. But administrative expediency sometimes dictates that clubs must run from term to term, and once the student makes his choice he has to accept the fortunes of the club; if it goes to seed, he must stay on and go to seed with it, if it accomplishes its purpose he must stay on counting the days until the end of the term signals his release. Interest is expected to play hand-maiden to the clock and the calendar.

However, even in schools where the administration does not impose such impossible conditions, it is common to find that the students and sponsors do not know when to stop, or else they do not know *how* to stop a club. And clubs have to be stopped as well as started. Every book that deals with the administration of school clubs gives page after page on when to start and how, and who should propose the club, but we take this occasion to propose that it is important to stop a club. Unless it is rounded out properly, with due regard for the

subject and the interest of the students, it is not likely to be a satisfactory experience. In writing a play or a musical composition or an essay we always try for a good climax and a good ending. But it is harder to direct a club to an artistic completion of its work—it is harder but just as desirable.

Sufficient unto the day are the evils—and the good

It is a dangerous thing to begin to look critically at a club program to discover what carry-over is assured or likely—what activities will continue to interest students when they are grown up. Unquestionably some clubs do furnish for some students more or less lasting avocational interests. These interests may be indulged intermittently, waxing and waning with the moon or the seasons, but they are always a part of the individual's resources. On the other hand, there are clubs, especially in the earlier secondary grades, which have no follow-through to speak of, and yet they are admirable clubs. They provide activities that are peculiar to childhood or youth and no part whatever of grown-up life. They are valid activities if they fill some need and help in the growing up. And it would be too bad to ask all clubs to be the kind that bear their richest fruit years after the clubs are dissolved and the youths have achieved maturity. Certainly the bogey of deferred values should not be allowed to haunt the club program as it has haunted classroom instruction. In the life of a youth one today is worth a great many vague and unsecured promises.

The case for clubs that are indigenous to the province of childhood emphasizes the case for those which form a strong bond between youths and adults. After all, as has been said many times, youth is a condition of the mind, not a quality measured in years. Perhaps there are very few people so hopelessly grown up that they do not frequently enjoy the urge to play games that are the special privilege of youth, or to ride the prancing hobbies that are commonly branded with youth's own brand. They follow these wholesome urges as far as our stern old folkways allow them. Surreptitiously men steal away to their elaborately furnished workshops in the basement to spend

timeless hours on ship models, train models, and a lot of other pastimes that, conventionally, only boys are supposed to enjoy. And women—do they experiment with marionettes? do they try new ways of decorating glassware? do they collect recipes for homemade candies?

The bungalow idea

It does not require any spectacular reasoning, any intricate dialectics, to make it apparent that the club program in any school would be strengthened immeasurably if it enlisted as members, as associate members and honorary members, as sponsors and associate sponsors, the young people, no matter what their age, who are actively interested in the fields the clubs represent. Why should any member graduate from a club? Jack McKinley, for three years a zealous member of the Marconi Club, completes his high school course and goes to work in a radio repair shop—why should he be allowed to drop out of the club if there is any way by which he can be retained as a member? Lackey Brashear, who played the trumpet in the school band—is there no part for him in the band now that he has completed his course in school? All the musicians grow up—vocalists and instrumentalists, violinists, baritones, and drummers. What reason can we give for allowing their loyalty to the school and their partnership in its adventures to evaporate completely, when there are so many ways in which these persons and the school would benefit by continued association?

No matter what the custom is, no matter where it came from, it is indefensible that high schools should be administered as though the students were another species altogether from adults. Our social life is made up of entirely too many horizontal strata. We call them age levels or age groups. There is this activity for children from nine to twelve and another organization for those from twelve to sixteen. The sixteens, according to our folkways, ought not to mix with the twenties, and the fathers and mothers ought never to engage in any cultural or social activities with their sons and

daughters. That is our custom, and it is a vicious one. It can be broken down—it wants breaking down, but this can be accomplished only by some planning. The horizontal lines will give way very easily, for they are purely arbitrary ones. They can be replaced by vertical lines, lines representing interests, not ages. We can change the architecture of our leisure from the skyscraper plan we have now, where one moves up from level to level according to his age, to a bungalow plan, where young people of all ages work together.

A mountain in search of Mahomet

This change is inevitable, but moves too slowly now. It needs the services of teachers and administrators who perceive clearly the nature of the experiences that adolescents require if they are to be tied into the fabric of community life. They are not boys and girls today and men and women when they have their diplomas. They must be allowed to achieve adulthood gradually by an increasing number of activities by which we shall exploit what we refer to as "the new leisure." If the conservative forces of the community reject whatever plans we might propose to allow young people to learn the machinery of politics or social service by having a realistic share in civic matters, they will a little more readily allow them to share in leisure activities of adults. We shall also open up our high school activities to adults. The mountain will meet Mahomet halfway.

Even persons who are wholly in sympathy with the idea may say that it is impracticable, for adults work during the day, do they not? and how then can they participate in school clubs, assemblies, dramatics, debates, and the rest?

The answer is easy. There are twenty-four hours in the day. From eight in the morning until ten at night the schools can be open. (The school building is not constructed like a morning glory, so that it folds up except when the sun shines on it.) Whatever fiction we choose to preserve about the proper bedtime for children of junior high school age, it is not necessary, surely, to pretend that senior high school students

might not take part in group activities at the school building several nights a week after dinner—particularly if the groups are “vertical” ones. On Wednesday evenings, let us say, the school band practices (why not call it the community band?), and father with his trombone and son with his trumpet are there, and mother and daughter are at the school with the other women who are doing batik work. On Tuesday evenings the family halfway down the next block turns out to sing with the community chorus, and Mr. Sennet, who has no family at all, is associate sponsor of the astronomy club (Tuesday afternoons) and a member of the Star Shooters (Monday evenings).

It would be a gross error to indicate that there has as yet been any wide movement in the direction of coordinating the leisure activities of youths and adults. There are some promising experiments in progress here and there, but school administrators taken as a whole have so far failed to see the potentialities of such a plan. In some cases they are guarding jealously their control of the school program and do not welcome what they would consider the interference of laymen. In most schools, perhaps, nothing has been done because the whole staff lacks the knowledge, the vision, and the courage to attempt anything that represents a departure from the practice of last year and the years before that.

But the changes that are going on outside of the high school are nowhere more apparent than in the demands they put upon the community for provisions for the creative use of leisure. The pressure on the high school from outside may be great enough to reshape it into what it could so easily become, the American Folk School. Pressure from inside, on the part of teachers and principals who have both courage and conviction, would accelerate the process. The present club program, where it is not emasculated by poor administration, is one of the most effective agencies for the positive guidance of youth; but it is at present no more than a promise of what it could be made if it were expanded in such a way as to provide a natural bond of mutual benefit between adolescence and adulthood.

Guidance Through Athletics and Health Education

THE PHRASE "physical culture" is a good one, logical and impressive. It ought to be a part of our educational vocabulary, but it is not. The words are likely to call at once to mind the patiently distorted men who look sternly at us from the pages of advertisements in the Macfadden magazines. Some of them wear a leonine pompadour, suggesting Samson in his glory; others are tonsured like Japanese wrestlers. They are costumed in no more than a loincloth, or else in the less revealing but more romantic leopard skin. They lift weights. They break chains. But always they look out from pages and posters at us with something that is reproach but not quite scorn, as though, flabby and wilted as we are, they still hope that we too will, in fifteen minutes a day, achieve chest and shoulders and biceps like theirs.

But those of us who have even twinges of sophistication know while we are envying them that they are grotesque. Theirs is such a perfection as the Japanese have achieved with goldfish, selectively bred through hundreds of generations. The big-muscle men have acquired their development, of course, in a different way and by their own effort, but they are like the fan-tailed goldfish because their unique characteristic is decorative only, and not useful. A stevedore or a blacksmith who has earned his muscles honestly and spends them honestly is not grotesque, but the strong men who have nothing to lift but weights are bizarre. Their muscles are academic. Theirs is strength for strength's sake.

To a much larger degree than it is comfortable to admit, our health education programs have been similarly academic. Growing boys and girls have not the capacity to develop clusters of bulging muscles, but our gymnasium work has frequently been calculated to make them muscle conscious, on the assumption, apparently, that being healthy is being physically perfect, and being physically perfect is having big muscles —having them to have, not to use.

Pick-and-shovel athletes

In the gross motions of men who are skillful in doing physical work there is as much to be admired as in athletic feats. The longshoremen handle bundles and crates with a power and beauty of motion that goes unnoticed. The rhythm and precision of men cutting corn, tossing rivets, or piling lumber is not less thrilling to watch than the comparable skill of the champions in golf or polo or tennis. It is understandable that we should commonly see no comparison. For work is work, and work, we are sure, is inevitably painful and hard —something to escape from and never potential with the dramatic pleasure we find in some other effort called play. Yet in all times in all countries there have been men who acclaimed as athletes and champions the ones who were the most skillful and quickest at work. The lumberjacks find their champions in the forests; the cowboys find theirs at the rodeo. Whoever will stop to look for skill and grace, for science and art, in the best work done by the masons, the carpenters, or even the pick-and-shovel men will find there is something gratifying to see, something that is missing from the effete activities of the weight-lifters, the shot-putters, the hurdle-jumpers.

Perhaps it is almost gone—the pleasure and feeling of power men had in good work. Abe Lincoln today could not be the best among rail-splitters, for nobody splits rails today, a machine splits the rails, a machine digs the ditches, a machine does or is on its way to do most of the work that men, perversely, gloried in doing by their own strength, skillfully used. When the machines some day do all the work, all muscles will be

effete, superfluous, affected, useful only in doing unuseful things. But there is still time to honor all who are athletes, not just those who bat 400, or those who make end-runs, or those who break ten seconds on the track, not only those who are champion players, but all the others as well who are champion workers. And perhaps there can be medals for the boy who pitches hay!

Aesthetic reasons

It is important to admit here the desirability of physical perfection, so long as this perfection is not defined too largely in terms of strength. For aesthetic reasons alone we could justify a large expenditure of time and effort to make the attainment of such perfection more general. Any person with sensibilities and an appreciation of the intrinsic beauty of the human figure avoids the popular bathing beaches. One visit to Coney Island on a summer afternoon will leave an impression that lasts forever—an impression of mountains of sagging flabbiness, humanity distorted into an endless variety of gargoyle ugliness. "In His image and likeness" God created them! He gave to all of them potentialities of physical beauty which most have either squandered or failed to invest.

The impression one gets at a public beach is vivid and lasting not because all the bathers are grotesquely ugly, but, on the contrary, because some of them, the young men especially, attain a degree of physical beauty. They are, and pardonably, aware of their superior form and grace, and it is by contrast with them that the others stand out in various kinds and degrees of ugliness. Very likely the case for physical beauty is promoted appreciably by the beaches. H. G. Wells some years ago wrote interestingly about a Utopia where there were "Men like gods," and women too, all of a perfect physical beauty. They wore no clothes at all and considered those who wore them shockingly immodest. But the nudists are not all "like gods." Whatever reasons they give for taking off their clothes, it appears likely that the effect is to increase awareness of the physical self and the desire to achieve what is understood to be

good form, good posture, good carriage. Going to the beach or the pool has very much the same effect, modern bathing costumes being what they are. Except for those who have declared themselves physically bankrupt, there is a general urge to resemble the bronze Apollo labeled "Life Guard," or the Diana who has come to swim with him.

But this awareness of the need for physical beauty and grace is not yet general in our country. In the rotogravure sections of your Sunday paper you may see pictures of young men and women marching, running, dancing, all of them vigorous looking, and grave. Whatever their purpose, it is a serious one, one that they honor. They are developing a tradition that we as yet know too little about. Our emphases have commonly been on winning competitions against others, too rarely on winning against one's self. We have had our victories, we have sent our athletes to win over others in the Olympics, and our champions have been world's champions. Yet these grave young men and women marching through the pages of your rotogravure section are winning some of the victories most worth winning.

Success as an intoxicant

The athlete knows the dangers of overtraining for his event, and the teacher needs to be sensible to the analogous danger of overdeveloping in his students the assurance, the courage, and those other qualities that in controlled amounts represent the essential objectives of the whole program, but in excess are ruinous. An overdose of success results sometimes in a toxic overconfidence, or in confidence misplaced. The star pitcher on one college nine swaggered into the editorial office of the college newspaper to ask that he be allowed to write a sports column with his name and picture at the top. He had no experience in writing and had nothing to write, it developed. But he fancied having his picture in the paper and was confident that, being a good pitcher, he could also write. There was a champion heavyweight boxer a few years ago who resigned his title and turned author under somewhat the same

illusion. It was less disastrous than if Sinclair Lewis had decided to be a professional boxer.

The conventional practice of exploiting high school athletes for the purpose of advertising their town is barbaric. Few youths are temperamentally fitted to come unscathed through the experiences that attend being a member of a championship team. The physical strain on a half-grown boy who plays through all the games to the last whistle is less hazardous than the intemperate adulation that the community heaps upon him when the championship has been won. He is liable to temporary delusions of grandeur. He will become "too big for his shoes" and too big for most of the opportunities that come his way. When and if the deflationary reaction sets in, a young man, whether disillusioned and bitter, or disillusioned and charitable, has a right to accuse the school of having wronged him by allowing and encouraging his self-deception.

Fair play for athletes

The community is sincere enough in its hero worship of the boys who have won for the home town, but the teacher must see beyond the glare of the flashlights to the cold gray dawn of the morning after. The name of the town in far-off headlines will delight the Chamber of Commerce, but the lines between the headlines sometimes spell grief for the young gladiators. It might be good advertising but bad guidance.

The school is not for athletes any more than it is for goggle-eyed bookworms. It is not for athletes, but it should not be against them. Instead of the situation in which athletic young men tolerate the rigors of a verbalistic curriculum in order to be allowed the privilege of spending themselves in the 'varsity contests, there must be a better distribution of opportunities. The athlete cannot grow normally on a diet consisting entirely of scrimmage, and scrimmage ought to be part of the ration provided for the others, those who have become rickety from too many equations and conjugations. The high school, with its forward-passers on one hand and its examination-passers on the other, has become too highly specialized. It is time to

unscramble the system, to assure fair play in the classroom. The first step is to see clearly that sports are not *extra*-curricular. For athletes, sports may be the very core of their curriculum.

What is the moral equivalent of 'varsity victory'?

The alternative for gladiatorial contests is not mass calisthenics for half a period once a week in the school gymnasium. If strength were really the objective of gymnasium work, then those who are already strong should be excused from the customarily required classes. The farm boy who gets up in the middle of the night and does half a day's work before he catches the milk train that brings him to town and to school—he does not need exercise! But he needs some other things that a sensible health-education program includes. Being a farm boy, he needs more than some others do the participation in group activities. He needs to learn to rub elbows with the other fellows. He needs to learn to win and lose, all in the spirit of the game. He needs, more than city boys do, a chance to learn to play and a chance to discover himself through play. On the playfield or in the gymnasium there is something, he will discover, that he can do well, or well enough to assure him, with the requisite practice, the satisfaction that he needs.

What we are saying here involves quite obviously an individualized program. It presupposes that the health instructor must be something more than a four-letter man. He may have been a triple threat on the gridiron, but he must be a triple promise in the school, he must know and must apply physiology, psychology, and sociology. Conventionally the high school health program is the domain of the coach. He is an athlete of a kind. Usually his successes in the cultural fields have not been celebrated ones. He selects athletes and drills them for the 'varsity teams, and his professional standing goes up and down according to the number of victories they win. Not uncommonly he is paid more than any other member of the faculty, regardless of training or experience, and in good years the sporting bloods of the community, who have profited

handsomely by betting on the home team, will give a banquet in his honor and present him with a generous purse. Sometimes the coach is paid, in addition to his salary from the Board of Education, a percentage of the gate receipts at high school games. Since it is the athletes who win fame and money for him, it is small wonder if he pays less attention to the chaff left after he has winnowed out the ones he will develop for his teams. For these left-over ones he has little time and less interest. Since they are scheduled for classes, he gives them some perfunctory setting-up exercises, followed by a period of "free play" under their own leadership. This satisfies his conscience, for he does not know about the other purposes of a health program.

If this description will do for the villain in the piece—not a great villain, really, for he plays a role assigned him by supervisors and the lay public who want the kind of service he delivers—if this will do for the villain, then it is time to say something about the young men and women who are not coaches but teachers. There are more and more of them, but not yet enough, and it will be a generation before the philosophy they hold has permeated the whole program for physical education.

These teachers do not specialize in 'varsity victories. Indeed, they have little use for 'varsity teams, win, lose, or draw. To them a game is an instrument, an agency for accomplishing a recognized professional purpose, and football and basketball they rate by this criterion, not by the current popularity they have attained among laymen. Yet these men (and the women too, in somewhat different fields) are athletes in a truer sense of the word than the All-American halfback is likely to be, for they have some skill in fencing, boxing, wrestling, dancing, and in aquatic, track, and field sports, as well as the currently popular games and some others that the coach has never even heard of. They may be unknown in the sports writers' roster of major stars, but they are far from being mollycoddles or dubs. They have not played to the grandstand but to a vision of a world made better by means of the expansion of

wholesome recreation. They are not professional athletes but professional teachers. They reckon their victories in the number of individual boys and girls they have helped to be strong and straight, in mind and heart as well as muscles.

The boy who did not kill himself

The story of Joseph George will do to illustrate the thesis that the gymnasium is a laboratory where we are learning some of the ways to control character development. These incidents took place in a junior high school a few years ago. To start at the logical beginning.

One afternoon in January the principal's secretary entered the principal's office in a somewhat excited manner and said, "There's a woman in the outer office—some kind of a foreigner and I can't quite understand her but I think she wants to see you. She's crying and a little hysterical or something. Will you see her right away?"

The principal asked to have her shown in, and a dark, wrinkled woman of somewhere past fifty entered. She was dressed in dusty black sateen, and over her graying hair she wore a triangle of the same material. She was stooped a little, and her back was bowed from carrying a great load. She was a Syrian woman, a peddler, who went about the countryside burdened with a pack that would have staggered a camel. She carried no pack now but a heavy load of trouble.

She talked eagerly, explosively, in English that was broken and hard to speak but harder to understand. Her dramatic gestures told as much as her words, and when it was all explained the principal understood that her boy had threatened to run away from home, had even threatened suicide. He had not been to school in three days and would not come because the boys teased him. That was why Joe would commit suicide—the boys teased him till he couldn't stand it any more. They teased him because he couldn't take his own part. Joe was a hunchback.

The principal knew Joe very well, but all this was news, and bad news. Somebody had slipped up if the boys in school had

been permitted to drive Joe to such extremes. Now that his mother had told the principal, she seemed relieved. Joe was her only child. She was old, his father was old. They both went out every day to peddle, and there was no person to look out for Joe. He was sixteen, but he had not grown well and was not strong. The school should take care of Joe, his mother said; it should not make trouble for him. Joe wanted to learn. He could not work, for he was too small, too weak. He *had* to go to school; he *had* to learn so that he could make his living.

That was all true. Joe had been a good student, he got along well in his studies, he got good marks, he made no trouble. The principal assured his mother of this and promised that if she would send Joe to school the next day he would talk with Joe and see what could be done to make everything all right. The good woman in black bent a little lower and took the principal's hand in both of hers and shook it vigorously, then she backed out of the office nodding to express her confidence and mumbling broken words to express her gratitude.

Joe came into the office the next morning before the session began. He looked sheepish and defiant by turn, but he seemed glad to be back and glad to have a chance to talk about all of the abuse, real and fancied, that he had suffered. The boys in his class section had teased him all the time, he said.

Sometimes he didn't care so much. But one thing he couldn't stand—that was last week when Mr. Mac, the boys' health teacher, had weighed the class. He weighed them every month. Mr. Mac had the boys line up and take their turn being weighed. Mr. Mac read the weight, and a boy he had appointed wrote the number down on the weight chart. Well, Joe was the lightest one in the room; he weighed only ninety pounds. But when Mr. Mac weighed him and read off "ninety pounds," the boy writing the numbers put down *nine* and pretended that Mr. Mac had said nine and teased Joe about being a baby that weighed only nine pounds. Then all the other boys heard and they all teased him when Mr. Mac didn't hear them. Because he was ashamed to tell Mr. Mac about the number the boy wrote on the weight chart, the

chart was sent back to the homeroom with the number still on it. Now everybody would see it and would think that Joe weighed only nine pounds. He couldn't stand it! He would run away! He would kill himself for sure!

The principal and Joe talked it out. The principal explained that the weight chart would be corrected, and that nobody could possibly think that Joe weighed only nine pounds—that was foolish. The boys had said that to make Joe mad because they liked to see him get excited. They liked to "get a rise out of him," as they would have said. If Joe would not get angry, they would let him alone. He was as good as they were. If they teased him, he should tease back; there was something about every one of them that would be good game for teasing. Joe was not wholly convinced, but he said he would try out this plan. He seemed to enjoy the prospect of teasing some himself. He said it might work if they didn't all tease him at once, if they didn't "gang up" on him.

Next step, the principal talked with Joe's homeroom counselor about the way things had gone and what the school could do to correct them. They carried the conference to Mr. Mac and took him into it. It was not just the incident of the weight recorded incorrectly, it was a question of how to adjust the physical education work to meet Joe's peculiar need. He had been attending gymnasium classes because he insisted on attending. But the nature of his abnormality made it impossible for him to take part in all the program. Certainly he could not compete in games on equal terms with normal boys. Since there was no changing Joe, who was crippled for life, it was the program that had to be changed, or the conditions under which he took part. Finally a plan was evolved, a very simple plan, and it worked.

Joe's homeroom counselor made an appointment for Michael Joseph to see the principal. Michael was an athlete, one of the best in the school, and captain of the Corridor Patrol, a boy of some maturity, dependable, resourceful, popular with the students and the teachers, not overbright in his studies, but willing. He was the biggest boy in his room and the natural

leader of the boys. It was Joe's room, and the boys were the ones who had, thoughtlessly and without malice, driven Joe to the crisis with their teasing.

Michael came in at the appointed time, and the principal, when he had said some complimentary things about the satisfactory way in which the corridors were being managed, asked Michael to do him a personal favor. It concerned Joe, the hunchback boy.

Michael said he thought Joe and he were cousins but he wasn't sure. He knew about the teasing. Joe was too hot-headed, he said. The boys didn't really mean anything. They all liked Joe well enough. Joe was a good sport, except that he couldn't take much teasing, so that's why they teased him. . . .

"Yes, I know—but listen, Mike, he is a cripple. All his life he will be a cripple. It's pretty bad to be that way. You can't even understand how it would be. Maybe you would be hot-headed if you were a cripple like Joe, eh? Well, we have to do something to stop the teasing, because he takes it seriously and says he might kill himself if it goes on. That wouldn't be so good, would it? The boys wouldn't feel very good if something like that happened and they knew it was their fault."

"Now this is the plan. First, I want you to see that nobody teases Joe, nobody in your room or any other room. All you have to do is to pass the word around—don't let him hear it, but pass the word around that from now on nobody teases Joe. And if they do, they get a sock on the jaw from you, see? I want you to warn them first, of course, then if anybody teases Joe, you sock him."

"Yes sir," Michael said, smiling a little. "You really mean that, do you?—about the sock on the jaw?"

"Of course I mean it. But you won't have to sock anybody. They all know you could do it, and if you say to let Joe alone, they will. But that's not all. There's something else just as important. You see, Joe is pretty much down in the dumps because he realizes he can't do very much in the gym. But we could make him feel better about it if we'd all kind of help

him along a little. It would build him up. It would build up his self-confidence. It won't be much trouble, Mike. All you have to do is to make it up among some of the boys in your gym class to see that Joe gets a little more than his own chances at the ball, if it is ball you are playing. And help him to learn how to shoot a basket, and if he gets one in, make a lot of it so that he'll feel good. Do you see how it works?"

Mike understood perfectly. "Yes sir," he said, "We build him up."

Five months later—it was the evening when the school held its promotion exercises. The program was over. The various school awards had been presented—certificates awarded for perfect attendance, medals for this, prizes for that, the school "service emblem" for those who had served with distinction on one of the service groups, and the felt monograms that were awarded to boys and girls for achievement in the health-education department. The program was over, and the principal found himself holding an informal reception, shaking hands with parents and aunts and cousins of the students who were, by the "ceremony" just concluded, promoted to the senior high school. Joe was a member of the class, and he was there in the corridor waiting for a chance to speak to the principal. When the crowd thinned out and Joe got his chance, he said that he would like to see the principal privately. Perhaps he could come up the next morning? . . . Well, it was pretty important, Joe said—important to him, anyhow. Maybe he'd better say it now.

"It's like this," Joe went on, "I don't want to go to senior high school, I want to come back to the junior high school and do my ninth-grade work over again. Sure, I passed it all, with good marks, too. But I didn't get everything I wanted. I got my promotion certificate and I got this silver pin for being a good member of the Recess Corps. But I didn't get a health letter, and that is what I wanted more than anything. I think that if I came back here next year I could get one of those health letters easy. The reason I didn't get one was because I didn't do much the first half of the year. But the

second half I got better all the time—it wasn't till the second half that I discovered *how good I really am!*"

Joe was persuaded to go on to the senior high school on the promise that if he did not like it, he might reenter the ninth grade. But when September came around, Joe had forgotten a part of his disappointment at not quite qualifying for a health letter. There are probably a lot of rough spots ahead for a boy who is a hunchback. But Joe got over one of the roughest ones, and he is better prepared for the others because he knows how good he really is.

It might be argued that the hunchback was given the wrong kind of guidance when he was allowed to think that he, with his permanent infirmity, could ever be an athlete. It may be claimed that he will overestimate his prowess and will have a sad time in store for him when he discovers the real truth about his limitations.

But Joe knows that truth and has always known it. He knew it when he was lending himself to the plan to "build him up." He is sophisticated enough to believe that he is "good" and to know, at the same time, the limitations within which he is good. It might have been possible to convince Joe that, being a hunchback, he could not have his successes on the athletic field or the gymnasium floor but would have to compensate for his inability here by some fine achievement in scholarship, or in any line of effort for which he was not disqualified.

Joe will find his métier and will be successful, very likely. But there was a time when his ego would have success in athletics or nothing—not a great success, but one just large enough to entitle Joe to nourish the illusion that he might have had a greater one if he had tried for it.

There are not many boys who are cripples, and most of them present no such difficult problem as Joe's when they turn out for gymnasium work. But it is still necessary that every boy (and all of this holds for the girls as well) should take some part in the work and should, through this activity, grow not only in strength but in courage, in self-respect, in the assurance that he is worthy. He should recognize some of his limita-

tions, but he should be allowed also to discover for himself *how good he really is*

Interdependence of mental and physical health

The factory stage of physical education involving drills and exercise for muscle building is becoming a thing of the past. In all progressive secondary schools the health objective is more adequately and propulsively conceived. As our educational policies have been modified by a better understanding of sociology and psychology, the health objective has come to cover an increasing number of aspects. Most important, perhaps, is the recognition that mental health is related to physical health both as cause and result.

The promotion of mental and emotional health is essential if the child's life is to be made a generally happy and satisfying one. To protect students from tasks for which they can never be adequate and to save them thus from a feeling of futility is of much importance in promoting their general physical efficiency. Competence to meet the problems of social life and to seek worthy leisure-time activities depends on self-confidence even more than it does on wise selection of food or breathing pure air or going to bed at certain times. Indeed, it is generally believed that in normal persons posture may often be more dependent on a happy frame of mind than upon any exercises that a gymnasium teacher can devise.

It is not a matter that is known objectively, but it has been known for a long time that there is such a close relation between facial expression and emotional state that one can sometimes induce a state of happiness or one of unhappiness by assuming and maintaining the appropriate expression. By somewhat the same juggling of cause and effect, the physical postures that, partly natural but more largely learned, accompany various emotional states may be used to induce, or at least to promote, the states to which each is related.

That is, if you are feeling pretty down-in-the-dumps and company comes, so that it is necessary for you to wear a pleasant expression for a while, you will find when the company has

gone that your depression has evaporated. You are "picked up." It is the smile you wore, as much as anything else, that picked you up. The system works both ways. If you pretend to pout about something and to be displeased with things in general, you will find that in a little while you have let yourself down into a hole. You no longer have to pretend that things are bad, for they have obliged you by taking over the illusion.

In like manner, a sloppy, slouchy, listless posture is the concomitant of a listless emotional attitude. People who are vigorous, dynamic personalities signify their intensity of purpose by the way they sit and walk and talk. If they do not always look the part, it is significant at least that we expect them to. People who are self-confident demonstrate it by their stride, the angle of their chin, the elevation of their chest; and assuming these symbols of confidence gives confidence, or promotes it. One has to become brave because he looks brave.

How the school gets in its own way

Students attain freedom of bodily movement, sportsmanlike attitudes and behaviors, happiness in competition, self-confidence, and integration of personalities in the activities of physical education classes progressively administered. But these same pupils may be made to sit for forty-five or sixty minutes in uncomfortable seats; they may be compelled on pain of failure or punishment to refuse help to a classmate in algebra. In their classroom activities, they may earn promotion marks only by unsportsmanlike conduct in class competitions in which the least able generally "start from scratch" and the most able receive favorable handicaps owing to their biological superiority and their more adequate previous learnings. If they do not attain success under these conditions, they may develop distaste for school, habits of rationalization, and complacency in failure. Thus the gains from physical education may be largely offset through inertia and lack of coordination.

Community sanitation is frequently stressed in community civics classes as well as in hygiene instruction. The students

may visit garbage and sewage disposal plants, community water supplies, the local board of health centers. Nevertheless, this instruction does not inevitably result in pupil responsibilities for clean lunchroom and schoolroom, for sneezing into one's handkerchief, for washing the hands after elimination.

The large gap between precept and practice in one phase of our health guidance is amusingly pointed up in a short article by John H. Treanor:

... Pupils are in school for at least three hours before lunch. From the moment they leave home, they use their hands. They play with dogs, hop trucks, smoke cigarettes, play ball in the yard, clean blackboards, water the plants, fill inkwells. They go to the sanitaries a couple of times.

In the four periods of work before twelve o'clock they handle books, papers, home lessons, maps, pens, pencils. They sit at each other's desks. They swap everything they own from money on account to the latest funny-book. But they never get washed before they eat.¹

Our school designers build million-dollar palaces with enormous auditoriums and great gymnasiums and shops. But the washrooms are never adequate for the peak-load, and there is not time in our schedules for waiting in line. The result, Mr. Treanor reminds us, is that the boys and girls go to the school cafeteria unwashed. To bring consistency into our hygiene theory we should either discard the germ theory or manage somehow to provide both time and facilities for practicing the health principles that we piously teach and flagrantly disregard.

The school's administration is sometimes so regimented that some of these matters are made none of the students' business. They file into the lunchroom, select their food, take it to a vacant seat at a table, eat it, and depart. Lunchroom employees collect the plates, clean up the rubbish, and prepare for the next group. The students go from recitation room to auditorium, to study hall, and back to recitation room; they know that the

¹ "The Great Unwashed," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (January 1945), pages 313-314.

janitors clean the floors, the blackboards, and the desks. It is obviously not their business to pick up scraps of paper, to avoid entering the building with muddy shoes, to see that toilets are flushed and that wash bowls are left clean.

In many schools the doctor or nurse tests eyesight and hearing, inspects noses, throats, hearts, and lungs, and fills out cards that are filed away. Parents are notified, and the teachers *may*, if they wish, hunt up the information. Nevertheless, students who are nearsighted or hard of hearing may frequently be found seated at the back of the room and perhaps classed as dullards or as lazy children. Students with defective hearts may be found playing basketball or undertaking long hikes or hurrying from the shop in the basement to the science room on the third floor to avoid being late.

There is the greatest need for coordination of efforts to promote physical and mental health. It is unfortunate that the school's program of studies and administration has ordinarily tended to diversify. As a result of this diversification, at least six agencies are frequently responsible for one or more phases of the children's health: physical education teachers, homeroom teachers, general science teachers, community civics teachers, home economics teachers, and the school administration, involving medical inspection, janitorial services, and cafeteria management.

For good or for ill, indeed, every subject is liable in some degree to affect the health of the children. Sometimes, as in Latin or algebra, it may be merely the matter of the control of admission of light to the room, the seating of the students, the temperature of the room, and the abuse of the fear motive. In the language, arts, and social studies there may be many opportunities through the writing of editorials and the preparation of assemblies to direct attention to school health conditions. In the appreciation subjects, especially art and literature, students may have their interest in sanitation directed by the making of posters and by the reading of such articles in the standard magazines as are frequently stimulating to intelligent adults.

*Personal appearance is a potent motive
for physical improvement*

To care for the teeth and skin and eyes and nails and to strive for good posture needs no further motive than the identity of self with the discriminating adolescent young man or woman who is admired because of his or her appearance.

Embarrassment and unhealthy self-consciousness may, of course, result from efforts of teachers to develop such identification of self with the athlete or with the handsome adolescent. There must be recognized, too, that there is possible danger of hero-worship in which the hero is the star athlete or the "swell dresser." If the school plans to use this most potent motive of *emulation*, great care must be used in promoting the admiration of the kind of older boy and girl that the school desires to have emulated.

There is no more significant and profitable an expenditure of thought and ingenuity than that given to such stage-setting. To give prominence in assemblies, in student committees, in appointing "squad leaders," and on all formal occasions to those rugged, simply dressed boys and girls who are already highly esteemed by their fellows results inevitably in fixing in the standards of the school an ideal of culture, refinement, posture, physique, and glowing health. In such stage-setting, silent suggestions, abetted perhaps by casual remarks, are efficacious. But "rubbing in" the qualities of the "models" by teacher-led discussions will almost certainly arouse jealousy and counter-suggestiveness. If the selected students are worthy of emulation, it will take place automatically. Obviously, an already unpopular student should *never* be used for this purpose.

If the desire to become rugged and pleasing of appearance has been skillfully aroused, personal hygiene amounts to little more than guidance in attaining the desired ends. Self-respect and self-confidence are closely bound up with appearance. An attractive hat or dress, well-cared-for hair, nails manicured, and a clear complexion may make the ninth-grade girl a smiling,

cooperative, self-respecting ally of the school's every effort. Her posture may improve and her scholarship may become better and her home relationships and community activities may become positively contributory.

The boy of the same age is generally less acutely affected by his personal appearance, he is more frequently reached through the social respect he gains as a presiding officer, a corridor guard, an athlete, a debater, a member of the orchestra or of the Sea Scouts. Improved personal appearance follows closely on the attainment of prominence and success, however. Once a student's self-respect is stimulated, an interest in all that will promote his health and, hence, his further successes, may become intense.

In every case the bases of motivation are the same, a desire to be rugged and pleasing in appearance and a belief that one is to a degree successful and can succeed more fully by effort and further knowledge. Other motives are relatively remote, but they should be used for whatever they may be worth. The vocational value of health, the ideal of parenthood and social service, the joy of robust health in later life, and the relative immunity to disease of healthy persons stimulate some students to engage in a program involving self-denial and vigorous physical preparation.

*Only the happy school is likely
to be a healthful school*

Physical health is closely related to mental and emotional health. Perhaps if the child is good he will be happy; but more surely if he is happy he is likely to be in good physical and mental health and hence will most probably be good. Only that child is happy who respects his ability to succeed in what he is undertaking. If his successful project be stealing or destroying property or violating regulations, then he will normally express himself in antisocial ways. If it be fishing or playing baseball or hiking or singing or reading, then he may be expected to express himself in harmless or desirable ways.

The first duty of the secondary school is so to organize itself

that students may find varied desirable activities at which they can be in some regard uniquely successful. Compared with this, all gymnasium activities, all inspections, all instructions, and all campaigns are empty and cheap.

The due recognition in school procedures of Rousseau's contention that normal development cannot be had without regard to the vigor of the body "would almost automatically revolutionize many of our educational practices," says Dewey. The program for the promotion of wholesome living represents a forward thrust of this potential revolution.

Among specialists in health and physical education there is a deep conviction that the relatively few minutes per week now scheduled for the programs they direct are inadequate. The physical condition of young men examined for military service during the years 1940 through 1945 was in too large a proportion of cases a clear indication that the school program of health and physical education had not been effective, judged by the most lenient standards. It is a moot question, of course, as to what degree of physical strength and endurance represents the standard for which the program should aim. Even the Army does not maintain one single standard of physical endurance, and it is hardly reasonable to expect that every boy who graduates from high school will have attained such strength and agility and coordination as is established for paratroopers or rangers. During the war there was an effort made in the high schools to condition the young men in the upper classes for the demands of the military services, and there was a lessened emphasis on games and sport.

In the future a clear distinction should be made between physical conditioning and physical growth and development. The difference between programs designed to develop physical conditioning on the one hand and physical growth and development on the other is the difference between success or failure in school programs of physical education.

Elementary and secondary school students are in the process of growth. Physical conditioning activities so evident during the war should not be a part of their program. Less formal yet rugged ac-

tivities which will reach not only the physical objective, but the social, emotional, and recreational objectives as well, should constitute the program of the growing child. If desirable rugged activities selected for their contribution to growth and development are provided for children, physical conditioning will be a concomitant of the program.²

Guidance for wholesome living

There is a general feeling that, regardless of the almost daily talk of crisis, there will be no likelihood of war for some years. The nations of the world are almost all suffering from battle fatigue. In the United States we suffered none of the horrors of total war that our enemies and our allies in Europe endured. Our gravest problem over here is to decide what to teach and when and how. But in Poland there are almost no school buildings left. In Germany there are not enough classrooms, not enough books, not enough teachers, not enough coal for the winter months. France is only a little better off, and England is "facing up" to another "austerity" program, which means shortages of everything for most people. We are not certain how things are coming in the U.S.S.R., but there is no reason to believe that there is in Russia an abundance of food or clothes or books.

In contrast with the problems teachers face in almost all the other countries in the world, our problems are simple of solution. Yet we have not done all that we must do. There are thousands and thousands of people in our own country who are existing on a deficiency diet. There are more who starve to death than we who are well-fed would know about. There are more lives lost in accidents than were lost in war—and all accidents are preventable. There are thousands and thousands of our countrymen in asylums, victims of boredom or of high-tension living or of some complex psychiatric breakdown that might have been prevented.

Guidance for wholesome living is a bigger job than the

² Leslie W. Irwin, "Were We a Nation of Weaklings?" *The Clearing House* Vol. 20, No. 7 (March 1946), pages 392-395

"coach" can do. It is one way of looking at the whole job of the whole school. And this is another way of saying that the guidance program of a public high school is unalterably tied to the program of health, physical education, and recreation.

Guidance Through Dramatic Arts

HERE IS our plea for the drama. Not your closet drama, not plays to be read silently or, worse, studied—analyzed for their subplots and climaxes and all such unlovely academic viscera. Here is our plea for what we might better call *dramatics*, except that the word has connotations that rather spoil it. Here is a chapter on a way of teaching and a way of learning that deserves a major emphasis in a book on guidance. All of us who have begun to appreciate the potentialities of the stage for education invite the world to attend a show that has been going on for a long time and that is only beginning.

It should not be necessary to make a case for acting as one of the cultural arts, a knowledge of which is desirable for all persons who wish to consider themselves educated. The play is older than the book, older than the song, as old as the story, perhaps. Though its age alone does not recommend it, there are other reasons why it should not be slighted in the cultural education of youths.

The high school spends a generous part of a student's time in teaching him what the syllabus calls "appreciation" of literature. By reason of an unfortunate set of circumstances, the art of the stage is largely neglected in the curriculum. Even the printed drama is given short shrift compared with the time allowed for studying essays and short stories and poetry. Music we teach, graphic arts we teach, but acting shares with dancing the bar sinister and may not sit in the family circle.

The traditional curriculum has it this way because acting is traditionally vulgar. In the Middle Ages, when academic prac-

tices for the western world were taking form, the humanities were in vogue among refined people, and some poetry and prose in the vernacular were appearing. But players were vagabonds, mountebanks, tolerated because they amused the rabble. The scholar who allowed himself patronizingly to watch their antics would have denied them familiarity and never thought of their plays as art.

And in a large degree it is so today. Professors and teachers are few among the ardent patrons of the theatre. The stage and its players are still *du peuple*. They have a directness, a vigor, a raciness that is foreign to all academic retreats. It is this vitality, this dynamic quality, that recommends the drama for young people who have not had time to learn to prefer the abstractions and subtleties of fine literature. Acting, of course, may be as subtle, as highly refined as any other art form. The point is that it is learned in a larger measure intuitively, not by effort. The play's the thing to catch the active interest of vigorous young people impatient with sonnets and essays long drawn out.

The play's the thing, not just because it has an immediate appeal for the youngsters who will play and the others who will watch, but because its appeal will carry through to later years. Playgoing is one of those assured activities of most adults. If the plays they go to see are usually picture plays, it is still true that the school, by its own faith, is pledged to help them know good plays from bad, and all the commoner refinements of the cinema.

The drama, then, has a claim upon the school curriculum. God forbid that it should come to be another subject to be taught for examinations to be passed! But there is little likelihood of this, for formal examinations are going out as fast as the drama is coming in. There are many teachers now who honor a puppet as much as a sonnet and see good uses for both.

Cops and robbers

If it is "apperceptive background" we want for all our teaching, nowhere is there better than what we have for every form

of acting. The child has acted from the time he learned to talk and walk. His play was full of play-acting—"Pretend I am the father, pretend you are the mother." Or when the "will to power" sought expression, the child has steeped himself in the illusion that he is a person more powerful even than parents—a "cop," or else a cowboy, or a captain—someone who has a gun or other potent symbol of advantage that the child, in his own role, does not enjoy. Here was escape from the impotence a child must feel in a world hedged all around by adult Do's and Don't's!

In schools commonly guilty of coercing youths into meeting requirements that are largely unrelated to and sometimes unrelatable to their natural predispositions, it is relevant to emphasize that play-acting in any one of its hundred varieties is indisputably natural. This is not saying that acting is instinctive. It means only that, in our culture at least, most children find pleasure and satisfaction in dramatic forms of play. Some of the reasons for this satisfaction may be apparent in an analysis of play.

Play is explained by several different theories. One of these, widely held, sees play as practice for adult life. The playful kitten chases a scrap of paper and pounces on it with mock savagery and learns in doing this the rudiments of hunting. Half-grown puppies, in the spirit of play, growl and snarl and pretend to fight each other. Boys and girls explore in a thousand ways the patterns among which they know they will choose as adults. They try to "get the feel" of being this and doing that.

In the same spirit, the drama offers youths and grown-ups opportunities to practice meeting hazards that they may need to meet some day on the other side of the proscenium arch. But high school acting need not rest its case upon such grave possibilities. Its greater value is in what it helps to teach of smaller things. For instance, the backward high school boy who, in his part, has learned the polite form of introducing people has added to his own social capital, and in a way that costs him none of the embarrassment he might experience if a

teacher, in a course in Politeness, had called on him in his own person to demonstrate how one ought to introduce Miss A. and Mr. B.

The stage supplies a place where adolescents learn painlessly the social arts that one must know to feel at ease. The stage gives poise, for poise is nothing more than social assurance, the security one has who feels adequate in any social setting. It is not all a matter of politeness, indeed, the adolescent will cherish most of all the precise knowledge of how to be effectively insulting. He may have no desire really to offend anyone, yet he appreciates the potential advantages in having an offensive weapon for defense.

Adolescence is more than anything else the period during which the youth is struggling to be accepted as an adult. He has proposed himself as a candidate for adulthood. He is initiated by degrees, is kept on probation. Every social situation is a phase of the examination he must pass. Whatever helps him to gain adult status by the most direct way and with a minimum of errors preserves his ego and contributes to the integration of his personality. Nothing blights and withers him more thoroughly than to be told bluntly, "Why, you don't know how to act!" It follows that there is no better way to learn "how to act" than by acting, by taking temporary refuge behind a mask, by losing one's own identity and being spared the bitterness and confusion of one's mistakes. In whatever degree this thesis is true, it follows that modern dramas are better vehicles than the ones that deal with other times and other manners. It must be true also that one homemade play is worth a dozen of O'Neill's or Shaw's.

At this point someone ought to rise to offer a resolution against youngsters who are "stagy" and affected. Girls offend oftener than boys. They take every opportunity for dramatic entrances and exits. They not only act, they overact; and intolerant grown-ups set them down at once as ridiculous. Perhaps they are, but the faults they have are more easily overcome than the opposite ones of shyness, of panic in every social group, of confirmed inadequacy and failure. We are in no

great danger of finding that our dramatic clubs have turned out a crop of incurable smart alecks, for in our procedures learning to act includes learning when to act and how much to act. Moreover, we are less concerned about acting than about boys and girls, and if the quality of their acting, both on stage and off, is not supreme, it is good enough if it has the concomitants we are watching for.

Hollywooditis

It is not unusual to find that the performers in the class play have enjoyed their experience so much that there is among them an epidemic of actoritis. Not only the stars in the cast but the humbler ones who have only a line or two may come off badly stage-struck. Some friendly counseling will be necessary to help your young Hamlet to see things as they look in the full light of the afternoon sun. In the words of the song, "There's a broken heart for every light on Broadway," and the high school stars who desert their textbooks for the tinsel glamour and the sock and buskin will find that Broadway is not broad, but narrower than the needle's eye through which the gospel camel finds it hard to pass. But the days are gone when boys ran off to sea, and almost gone when boys or girls run off to join the circus or the stage. For girls the never-never land of Hollywood is still a powerful magnet; but they have read about the seamy side, the regiments of would-be extras for every Bergman, the women who have given up their dreams of acting with Gregory Peck and are glad enough to make their meals at waiting table. There are fewer now who run away from home. They run away from home assignments for a while—their algebra and Latin suffer when their vision and perspective are still hazy from the glare of footlights.

Yet some do run away, to sing, to dance, to act. They do not always run away precipitously but bide their time and nourish their desires and go when there is a time to go. Some of them come home with laurels enough to spite the ones who would have said, "I told you so!" The town then claims

them as its own, and the county paper writes them up, "Local Boys Make Good"

The school assembly

Many forms of the drama, in common with the other creative arts, flourish best in what we call an audience situation. Indeed, they require an audience. In the high school it is an easy matter to provide the audience, for the school assembly (except in those benighted schools where the assembly is still called "chapel" and used by the principal to lecture and preach) can be the occasion for preparing and presenting a great variety of dramatic programs.

The opportunity and responsibility for presenting an assembly program provide an effective social motive for various student groups to undertake serious and cooperative community projects. Leaders emerge, rivals compromise, the teacher is accepted as partner rather than taskmaster, all cooperate in an endeavor to present a creditable performance.

The audience, on its side, has its lessons to learn. Violin strings will break, lines will be forgotten, awkward moments will occur on the part of the performers. "Smart alecks" will bring the manners of the cheaper movie crowds to the school assembly. There will be a rush for desirable seats, if pupils are given liberty to sit where they please. Intolerances and prejudices will crop out. Confusion is an obvious potentiality.

The audience learns something

The courtesies owed by an audience to those in charge of the assembly program must be considered in advance by the pupils in homerooms and classes. Tolerance and appreciation of every sincere effort on the part of fellow pupils or others to explain, to entertain, to persuade, and to exhibit are thus promoted so that the inconsiderate and ill-bred youths who cannot restrain their laughter, talking, and mock applause become outcasts from the very beginning.

The assignment of seats to classes, the separation of boys

from girls, the regimen of passing to and from assemblies, and the degree of freedom allowed before the program begins and during intermissions involve several moot questions. Such restrictions and uniformity as seem necessary to the principal and faculty should, in any case, be looked upon as temporary expedients.

It is easier to liberalize the discipline piecemeal than it is to revoke privileges unwisely accorded too early. If pupils have had little or no experience in cultured society except under strict surveillance, it may be wise, during the early months of the school's experience with student assemblies, to plan such definite procedures as are indicated in the preceding paragraph. Thereafter, as rapidly as it seems feasible the more mature pupils may be allowed to take their seats as they please within a restricted area; their teachers may gradually withdraw from any obvious disciplinary position. Similar privileges may then be accorded to the younger groups.

In well-run high schools pupils walk from their classrooms to the auditorium and to their seats with the same freedom and informality as characterize cultured people who attend church or concerts. Their conduct during the assembly periods is similarly decorous. No distrust of immaturity should be allowed to prevent high school faculties from aiming at such achievements in their own schools.

The program does not run itself

In progressive schools the determination of such policies as those governing assembly programs are left to a committee of the faculty, subject to the approval of the whole faculty, the principal, and the students. The same committee, once the policies and standards and administrative details have been worked out tentatively, may be appointed to exercise general supervision over the assembly activities, to interpret the policies, and to aid in the progressive approach to realization of the standards proposed. The faculty members, once the assembly traditions of the school are fairly well established, may share these responsibilities with elected or appointed students, and

it is quite possible, especially in the senior high schools, that the teachers may be successively replaced on the committee by student members until only one, the inevitable sponsor, remains.

During the principalship of one of the authors at a representative junior high school, the Benjamin Franklin in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, assembly activities were supervised by a faculty-student committee. The chairman of the committee, a teacher who had shown unusual skill in directing assembly programs and was thoroughly grounded in the educational principles that operate to give the best results in this type of activity, became the school's authority on the subject but was always a tactful leader, not a dictator. Some one person, in practice, must be authorized to make decisions in the name of the committee, to analyze emergency situations and recommend action based on the policies the committee is organized to interpret and apply. The chairman, acting in this way, became the recognized director of all assembly activities, which does not mean at all that she directed the programs to be presented. She was general manager, but each assembly program had a faculty sponsor, usually the sponsor of the student group presenting the program, who was directly responsible for supervising the planning and preparation. Basic to all supervision and planning were the "Standards for School Assembly Programs" adopted by the faculty-student committee.

Standards for assemblies are difficult to set. On the one hand, they must not be allowed to degenerate into mere vaudeville sketches; on the other hand, standards must not be placed so high that endless rehearsals and drills are necessary in order to avoid criticism. Artificial and superimposed "high" standards result in equivocations and distaste. Child artists are exploited, successful plays are plagiarized; pupils become puppets acting precisely as their teacher-coaches tell them to. Teachers avoid responsibilities for sponsoring assemblies because of the excessive work required to coach them; pupils are not responsible because their best efforts often result in humiliation.

Weekly assemblies should be kept so simple in type and so

reasonable in standard that pupils can initiate, plan, and prepare them with a minimum of rehearsal and coaching by teachers. The following standards, selected from those suggested by McKown, approximate those adopted at Benjamin Franklin: (1) Appropriateness, interestingness, and originality of material, and the group's resourcefulness in using it (2) Attractiveness and originality of presentation, characterization, and resourcefulness in producing stage effects. (3) Estimated value in achieving such purposes, objectives, or values, as:

- Unity the school
- Educate in school integrating knowledges, ideals, attitudes
- Motivate and supplement school work
- Inspire to worthy use of leisure
- Widen and deepen pupil interests.
- Develop aesthetic sense of pupil
- Instill desired ideals and virtues
- Develop self-expression.
- Recognize worth-while achievement
- Promote intelligent patriotism
- Correlate school and community¹

The committee, when the policies and standards had become pretty well known and understood through practice and through discussions in faculty meetings and in homeroom and council meetings, still exercised a careful supervision through the system by which the assembly plan operated. At the beginning of the school term the committee posted a list of dates to be filled and invited each student group to select one. When it was formally assigned by the committee, the group was pledged to present a program before the assembly.

The next step was the planning. The group, with the help of its sponsor, wrote out a general plan or prospectus and submitted this to the assembly committee for approval. The committee approved or disapproved or recommended changes.

¹ Harry C. McKown, "Setting Standards for the High School Assembly," *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 25 (January, 1930), page 276.

This censorship was not always necessary, but the committee could detect in the prospectus many elements that were better censored before they had been developed. For instance, because the school was a cosmopolitan one and enrolled colored children and white, it was a standing policy to allow no minstrel shows, no "burnt cork" numbers for any occasion. The feelings of the colored children were spared by this policy, and the white children were given no encouragement in the unfortunate belief that Negroes are all comics and that "blackening up" is a certain way to be entertaining. When the prospectus included an imitation of Amos and Andy, it was red penciled and returned. There were also, of course, occasional programs nipped in the bud because they were off-color, immoral in ever so slight a degree, perhaps, but still not in keeping with the mores that the community wished observed in the high schools. Much commoner were the prospectuses that were disapproved because they sketched a program too long or too short for the time allowed, or because they were too difficult or too elaborate.

The committee required the prospectus a month before the date scheduled, so that preparation would not be put off until too late. The committee assisted when there were difficulties about stage fixtures and costumes, and assigned time when the stage could be used for rehearsals. A member of the assembly committee attended the dress rehearsal, held usually a day or two before the scheduled assembly period, and if the rehearsal indicated that, owing to bad planning, bad management, or indifference, the program was unworthy to be presented and could not be improved enough in the time remaining to warrant its presentation, then it was canceled in the interests of the assembly audience.

The assembly committee rarely had to use this prerogative. When it did, rather than have no assembly period at all, the committee used a contingent program, a stock program that could be got together quickly for such an emergency—audience singing from projected slides, or musical numbers by the various musical groups or by the more accomplished solo per-

formers, plus a short talk by the principal, if the committee were driven by the exigency to such an extremity

A program that was approved in dress rehearsal was advertised to the students by means of a synopsis distributed through the homerooms. This synopsis, prepared by members of the group putting on the program, identified by name all who were taking part, all who contributed to its success. In addition, it carried a brief sketch of the setting, the action, or the theme, revealing enough to enlist interest but not enough to give away the plot, if it boasted one. The employment of this device, original with the Benjamin Franklin Committee, gave excellent results and is a distinct contribution to the technique of planning and presenting programs for school assemblies.

The critics

When the last curtain has been drawn and the student master-of-ceremonies has announced, "That concludes our program. We thank you for your attention and your applause," the critics go into action. They may be unofficial critics, or they may be, as they were at the Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, appointed critics or invited ones, three of them usually. They need to know the standards, the criteria by which to judge the type of program that has been given. They judge it and write their criticism. They are generous critics and eager for things to praise. It is even by praise—faint praise—that they damn an uninspired program. Their severest criticism is usually of the audience, not the players! (Broadway critics would sometimes enjoy this privilege.) Such adverse criticism as they offer is always tempered with suggestions as to why and how the matter may be improved "next time." Their report goes to the assembly committee, the principal, and the group that staged the performance. A copy is filed for reference, but it is not published.

Classroom dramas, especially improvisations

Anyone who gets about these days knows that in point of numbers the classroom play is the most important application

of the dramatic art in our whole country, provided, of course, that the word "art" is not employed in a narrow sense. In Ohio, Miss Farinbaugh's students are playing a scene from *Ivanhoe*. Down in Alabama there is a class working out the details of a scene to represent the trial of Aaron Burr. In a New York school, Shakespeare himself, costumed in his sister's hat with a yellow plume, and his own coat turned inside out so that the sleeve linings make it look very Elizabethan, is talking with Sir Walter Raleigh about America and saying some things that the historians would give a great deal to be able to find in the records.

It should be unnecessary here to describe in any detail the type of classroom play that is important not only because it represents in essence the best modern educational practice. These are not plays to raise money, or to please an adult audience, or to celebrate any great holiday. The players act to please themselves. They are their own audience, their own critics. If there are some members of the class temporarily on the sidelines in the passive role of spectators, they may the next minute be called into the action of the play to represent the Christian martyrs or the Norman nobles. The play may stop and go back and start over at whatever point the actors decide might be improved. It is a serious business seriously conducted. There is enthusiastic approval for every actor who creates a character or adds some little bit that helps to develop the play, and nobody, however inept, is censured so long as he is honestly trying to play his part. The best of the classroom plays are not written out and memorized verbatim and acted in conscious imitation of adult actors. Far from it. In their own minds the children are for the time being not actors with lines to say but the actual persons they represent. What they will say or do is no more blueprinted than what will happen in our own lives next week. Given a setting and a character and the merest thread of a plot to follow, the student will meet situations as they come, saying the things and doing the things that his role requires.

This is the art of dramatic improvisation. It is the way that

children carry on their dramatic play when they are not obliged to accept the restraints and conventions of the contemporary adult stage. For them it provides the most pleasure because it allows the greatest amount of creativity. Far from being something to disparage as childish or to allow as expedient, it is a form of acting that ought to be encouraged in the hope that some day we may revive some of the traditions of the Improvisators, the most brilliant actors in the history of the theatre. If that possibility is too remote, then the improvised play is still important because it serves, better than any other dramatic medium we know, our purpose of providing children experiences through which they will discover their power to create and come to see life as something not to be lived but to be made.

The class play

It is written in the history of education that long before our classrooms were invaded by puppets and long before the Roxy tradition and the stadium psychology were stirred together to give us pageants, there were class plays. The high schools, assuredly, borrowed the idea from the colleges. But the class play is assuredly one of the veterans among our "extra-curricular" activities, the great-great-grandfather of practically all dramatic clubs and occasional courses in dramatics now scheduled in our high schools.

What was written as the first half of this chapter pertains here, and there is not space left to say much more, except that there ought to be more plays and more plays, and they ought to be, in a larger degree than they have been, the work of student authors, student production staffs, and student actors. The faculty sponsor has held too tight a rein, and perhaps there has been some confusion concerning what standards are desirable and acceptable. It is difficult to discover how to get the student players to act the best they can without imposing professional standards and conventional theatre patterns on them. The sponsors have usually erred on the side of the conventions, have selected the play and dictated every gesture and intonation, so that the actors had not much more share in

the creation and interpretation than so many life-size marionettes. Sponsors have had their attention on techniques rather than on students. They have become producers and forgotten to be teachers. When the curtain goes down on a school play, the technique evaporates and there is nothing left of the play except the changes that have been produced inside of the young actors and the audience. If the changes are good ones, then the play was a good play, no matter what Broadway critics would have said of the acting.

This is the crux of the whole matter. Assembly programs and these other forms of dramatics are important devices in guidance because they provide an infinite variety of opportunities for shared experiences. Those who are rich in talent and skill and the others less talented and less gifted can be enlisted in a dramatic project in such a way as to assure for each a share of the personal satisfaction that one experiences in performing well something he can do that is socially approved. There is no more wholesome escape from the musty verbalisms of the old teaching than one can discover wherever a school is employing skillfully these dramatic techniques. They are activity techniques, they are socializing techniques, they are, *par excellence*, techniques of self-discovery.

"Education in 1947"

Floyd Dell was one of the most penetrating lay-critics of education when he wrote *Were You Ever a Child?*² He missed his guess when he wrote (in 1921) about the schools that would emerge by 1947, schools in which most of the learning activities were built around the stage. Although he missed the year, the guess he made was one that ought to have come true, in some schools if not in all. A stage is a whole method of education, if all its potentialities are used. In 1947 or in 1974 the principles held or will hold, provided, of course, that teachers who are creative persons in their own right use the stage as a me-

² *Were You Ever a Child?* New York Alfred A. Knopf, 1921, Chapter XXVI,
"Education in 1947 A.D."

chium through which students may enjoy creating in a living, fluid art that is older than time yet always new

The dramatic arts provide some valuable procedures for a school that puts its major emphases on the development of the individual student as a worthy and effective member of a social group.

Guidance Through Student Participation in School Management

CHARLES DICKENS was one of the most effective critics of the schools of his day in England. Conditions then were so bad that they lent themselves easily to the melodramatic treatment by which the author exposed them in many of his novels. One who follows young Nicholas Nickleby, for instance, will be introduced to some of the dark pictures that were representative of what passed for education in too many schools of mid-Victorian England. Dickens, of course, used a certain degree of artistic license in drawing, or overdrawing, the picture, but it will be interesting to go with young Nickleby to a session of the school for boys conducted by Mr. Squeers:

After some half-hour's delay, Mr Squeers reappeared, and the boys took their places and their books, of which latter commodity the average might be about one to eight learners. A few minutes having elapsed, during which Mr. Squeers looked very profound, as if he had a perfect apprehension of what was inside all the books, and could say every word of their contents by heart if he only chose to take the trouble, that gentleman called up the first class

Obedient to this summons they ranged themselves in front of the schoolmaster's desk, half a dozen scare-crows, out at knees and elbows, one of whom placed a torn and filthy book beneath his learned eye

"This is the first class in English spelling and philosophy, Nickleby," said Squeers, beckoning Nicholas to stand beside him. "We'll get up a Latin one, and hand that over to you. Now, then, where's the first boy?"

"Please, sir, he's cleaning the back parlour window," said the temporary head of the philosophical class

"So he is, to be sure," rejoined Squeers. "We go upon the practical mode of teaching, Nickleby, the regular education system. C-l-e-a-n, clean, verb active, to make bright, to scour. W-i-n, win, d-e-r, winder, a casement. When the boy knows this out of book, he goes and does it. It's just the same principle as the use of the globes. Where's the second boy?"

"Please, sir, he's weeding the garden," replied a small voice.

"To be sure," said Squeers, by no means disconcerted. "So he is B-o-t, bot, t-i-n, bottin, n-e-y, ney, bottinney, noun substantive, a knowledge of plants. When he has learned that bottinney means a knowledge of plants, he goes and knows 'em. That's our system, Nickleby; what do you think of it?"

"It's a very useful one, at any rate," answered Nicholas.

"I believe you," rejoined Squeers, not remarking the emphasis of his usher. "Third boy, what's a horse?"

"A beast, sir," replied the boy.

"So it is," said Squeers. "Ain't it, Nickleby?"

"I believe there is no doubt of that, sir," answered Nicholas.

"Of course there isn't," said Squeers. "A horse is a quadruped, and quadruped's Latin for beast, as everybody that's gone through the grammar, knows, or else where's the use of having grammars at all?"

"Where, indeed," said Nicholas abstractedly.

"As you're perfect in that," resumed Squeers, turning to the boy, "go and look after *my* horse, and rub him down well, or I'll rub you down. The rest of the class go and draw water up, till somebody tells you to leave off, for it's washing-day tomorrow, and they want the coppers filled."

So saying, he dismissed the first class to their experiments in practical philosophy, and eyed Nicholas with a look, half cunning and half doubtful, as if he were not altogether certain what he might think of him by that time.

"That's the way we do it, Nickleby," he said, after a pause.

Nicholas shrugged his shoulders in a manner that was scarcely perceptible, and said he saw it was.

Whatever the faults of the educational system employed by the learned Mr. Squeers, it could not be called academic. It

was eminently practical and purposeful from the viewpoint of the villainous schoolmaster who used every device to exploit his pitiable wards. Very likely his counterpart is not to be found in England or America in this somewhat more enlightened age. But a modern Dickens would not travel far before he could find, even in our public schools, the pedagogical heirs of the infamous Squeers. They are working for a somewhat different kind of advantage, and their procedures appear on the surface to be less objectionable, but the system is very much the same. Frequently they use the pupils for no other reason than to get some difficult or unpleasant work done. It is no real concern for the good of the child, but some other expedient, some private motive that is behind the plan.

"Student participation in school management" is sometimes no more than the plan of an ambitious administrator to attain for himself the approval of his superiors by installing an organization that, superficially, appears to be genuine. If another school has been praised for its court of honor, its student congress, its traffic squad, our Mr. Squeers will copy the form of these in his school for the advantage he may gain.

But there is no short cut possible to the kind of student participation that is educationally defensible. A competent inspector will sense at once what is lacking. The hand is the hand of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Mr. Squeers. In the school so organized the groups through which students are said to participate in the management of the school perform the motions, but every student and every teacher knows that Mr. Squeers owns the school. They may dance, but he will call the figures, and he will take the bows and collect the principal rewards.

If the superintendent or the principal takes you through the school to show you the institution at work, he may be able to persuade you, as he has persuaded himself, that his student organizations are models of educational proficiency. But you will be wiser if you make the inspection accompanied not by the administrator or by a teacher, but by a student or a committee of students. From their explanations and their answers

to your questions you will discover whether their activities are merely prescribed routine to which they lend themselves indifferently, or whether the students are root and branch a part of the plan, a plan they have shared in making and developing for accomplishing purposes that they not only understand but *feel*, feel in their bones and their marrow. On your inspection with the student guides you will discover who *owns* the school.

To whom does the school belong?

According to the law (the school codes of the various states and the legal decisions by which these have been elaborated), the administration of the school is altogether an adult function and is not at all related to the curriculum. The law was written by lawyers, not educators, and a great deal of water has gone under the bridge since the legislators drafted their law, so that there is a large disparity between the statutes and what is becoming general practice in education. For instance, in the sight of the law the school building belongs to the state, and the pupils who flow through it, generation after generation, occupy it only as transient guests (brought to school by the scruff of the neck in some instances, but guests). The Board of Education, according to the law, holds in trust all school property, buildings, and equipment, and employs school officers and teachers to direct the use of these for the instruction of the children. What is axiomatic in the legal aspect, however, appears absurd from other points of view. Higher than the statutes is another law, a natural law, which all children recognize intuitively—the law of use—*the school belongs to those who use it.*

Educationally there is no other way to regard the ownership of the building and equipment. If the child is to be educated for social adequacy through socialized participation in school affairs, he must belong to the school. But belonging is a reciprocal relationship; he cannot belong to the school unless the school belongs to him. This ninth-grade boy owns nothing in the school in the sense in which ownership is established

by the statutes, yet he will be heard to refer glibly to *my* school, *my* teacher, *my* class, *my* desk. He owns the school, certainly, in partnership with many others, and in the degree in which he is aware of his ownership he is aware of the responsibilities it involves. It is a subtle relation; as he becomes a part of the school, the school becomes a part of him. In an immeasurable way but a real way he leaves something of himself in the school and takes away with him something else that is a part of the living spirit of the school. As he has been born flesh of his mother's flesh, so he is reborn every day as the son of his alma mater.

In the traditional school it is true enough that the school belongs to the state, and all the things therein; the student feels no more affinity for it than he does for his dentist's office. But in the new school it is inevitable, and altogether desirable, that he should own the school and belong to it in the same degree that the principal or the most firmly established teacher has this experience of reciprocal possession.

Ownership entails obligations

It is simple to determine when a student has taken possession of the school. He will certify his ownership by many overt acts. As he goes through the corridor, he stoops to pick up a scrap of waste paper. He concerns himself to see that the picture in the library is put back on an even keel. In the washroom he takes care that the basin he uses is left in tidy condition for the next person. It is his school, and he finds pleasure in living in it and in having it in the best condition for use. Such an attitude is not priggish or unnatural. It is a positive attitude, learned in a situation where a positive attitude gives more satisfaction than the destructive, mucker attitude one finds so frequently that it is mistakenly thought of as the natural attitude of youths.

There are schools, of course, where infinite patience and superlative skill are necessary to establish generally the aggressively constructive interest that prompts youths to prefer civilized modes of behavior. Patience and skill are still rare

commodities, but the education of youths begins with this civilizing process, or it does not begin at all.

Though it may seem to go somewhat too far into the metaphysical aspects of this matter, it is worth while to note here how closely related are the sense of self and the sense of possession. Having and being are overlapping concepts. You identify yourself in a measure by what you have, and you know your neighbors as persons partly in terms of their property. "That man is the man who owns the boat, and the other man is the one who has bought the cottage on the bluff."

Possession, however, is certified by use in this respect. What a person owns and uses is a part of him, and its real value depends on how wisely and how well it is used, that is, on how much it is enhanced by the value or quality of the owner. The dog in the manger was in possession only in a negative sense. Even in law the element of use is recognized as an aspect of possession, as exemplified in the right of eminent domain.

Our conclusion, then, valid in both logic and practice, is that the personality of the individual student is enriched when he is encouraged to believe that the school belongs in part to him, when he is allowed to discover and practice ways in which to demonstrate constructively his partnership in the enterprise.

Education for having or for being?

The general notion of property rights is undergoing extensive revision during our generation. Capitalism can survive as the basis for our economy only if it can be demonstrated that the owners of private property know how to employ it consistently for the commonweal. Any other economy, whether it emphasizes private ownership or socialized ownership, would serve the public interests in proportion to the degree in which those charged with the control of property were able to discharge wisely the obligations that ownership entails.

To guide adolescents effectively toward social competence, then, regardless of what changes may take place in our economic organization, we must give them practice in *having*, in realistic possession as established by wise control. Conven-

tionally, our teaching has been largely on the side of preparation for *getting*, for acquiring property for private advantage. Economic success, in our culture, is often measured by the extent of material possessions, rather than by the more fundamental consideration of how they were attained and how they are employed. The schools today can scarcely do less than follow the general public interest in improving the social dividends from all property. The legislatures and the congresses will grind out laws to enforce greater social control of private property or to effect the social ownership of certain property, especially public utilities. But such laws mark only the beginning of a greater need for public education in the ethical functions of possession.

It is inevitable that all of our social institutions, from the family and the church to the courts and the universities, will be engaged actively in this process of refining the social concept of property. But the school, as a controlled environment, socially maintained for social ends, is the ideal place for practice in having. In the school our richest possessions, obviously, are not material ones. Our great wealth is of the spirit. It is inexpendable, inexhaustible. It multiplies and expands through use, and the more widely it is shared, the greater its value to all who share it. We give it away, and by this daily miracle, greater even than the miracle of the fishes, we still have it, enhanced in value, to give away again.

The young vandals who have so frequently initiated their own misguided plan for participating actively in the ownership of the school—they are at fault when they steal toilet fixtures, shop tools, library books, and anything else that is loose or can be pried loose, but their fault is less than that of the school officials who have failed to see how the school, as a civic institution, must serve these youths. The school belongs to the city, and to the state. But they *are* the city, and *they are the state*, these prancing, unbridled youths, indifferent to the golden wisdom of “those who know best” and determined only to squeeze out of this hour and the next whatever offers of immediate pleasure and satisfaction for them. They are the

state, and the state belongs to them, the state transcendent that must be brought out of the ashes of our today. But how will the school civilize these young barbarians? How may we recapitulate two thousand years of social living?

Civilization as an objective

Civilization is a state of social progress in which the individual bears a relation to the group involving certain rights and certain duties. Until a people achieve civilization, they live in a state of savagery or barbarism. It might be said also that the individual in a civilized society is a barbarian until he achieves citizenship by assuming the status of citizen (from the Latin *civis*), with its attendant privileges and obligations.

But the individual does not assume citizenship by putting on a garment, nor by any ceremony or oath or initiation, at least, not in a democracy. Citizenship in a democracy entails active participation, extensive participation, intelligent and wise participation, and is a cumulative process by which the individual may become increasingly civilized. This process of civilization, obviously, cannot be deferred until the individual has attained the legal age at which he may vote, it begins when he is a child at home, it continues when he is a pupil in school; and his whole education, so far as it is a matter of public concern, is directed toward making him more effective in the performance of his civic duties.

Education for citizenship in a democracy

An industrial engineer, before drawing plans for a factory and machinery, would have a right to know what kind of article, precisely, his concern wished to produce. It is apparent, by the same token, that before planning the experiences through which the public high school may provide precise training for citizenship in democracy, we might agree as to what social ideals should be realized ultimately through a social organization that is democratic in form and methods. What is assumed in our practice? What faith, what philosophy, what set of political ideals lies underneath our routine?

Any study that deals realistically with a problem concerning the public schools in the United States must clearly recognize the political nature of these schools. Because "political" is a word that has acquired an odorous secondary meaning, there are some who would choose not to emphasize the connection of the school system with the government, but the fact remains that public education, from the foundation of the republic to the present time, has been a political function.

Education, then, has direct obligations under a democratic form of government. It must convey to each individual the meaning of democracy, it must inculcate in every student a fervid belief in the democratic ideals; and it must train the student in the techniques by which these ideals may be effectively applied, and, most difficult of all, must educate him to appreciate the desirability of constantly improving our social institutions and working out better applications of the principles of democracy. Only in the measure in which our public schools perform these duties are they living up to the spirit of their contract with the people who are the state. In direct proportion to their effectiveness in performing these responsibilities they are carrying on the tradition in which the American public schools were established.

Student government

The term "student government" is widely used, but it is a misnomer and responsible for some unfortunate misunderstandings. The lay person, insufficiently informed as to the purpose of the plan of some organization for some student participation in school management, picks up the phrase and assumes that it means what it says literally. Having jumped to this conclusion, the patron of the school may take the next opportunity to buttonhole a member of the Board of Education and to protest against the "foolish and radical ideas the superintendent and the principal are fostering in the high school."

The teachers and other school officials are commissioned by the state to exercise disciplinary authority (*in loco parentis*) over the students. While holding their positions they could not

relinquish this authority, for it is not a privilege but an obligation entailed in their professional service (There is probably no case on record where a principal has been willing to relinquish his authority, or has sought to escape his obligations, by establishing some form of organization allowing students, within certain defined limits, to share in the administration of their own activities.) School officials have good reason to guard circumspectly such authority as they are accorded by the school law or by regulations of the local Board. It is not as an administrative expedient but as an educational method that they may choose to delegate, always subject to reconsideration, some part of this authority.

In educational practice this is not new or revolutionary, if one stops to consider that boys in the English "public" schools have a tradition of self-government in certain matters that extends back through many generations and is not regarded now as experimental in the slightest. Their tradition has developed along lines wholly different from the plans that are most successful in American high schools, for conditions and purposes in the English and American secondary schools are not at all similar. Yet there is much we might borrow or adapt from our British cousins when we understand the full meaning of the familiar quotation that "the Battle of Waterloo was won on the play-fields of Eton and Harrow."

If students profit in the English schools by sharing in the management of their own affairs, it is because their plan of training for responsibility evolved out of the lives and problems of the boys. It was not developed by the headmaster in his study and superimposed on the school. In most of these schools the masters give no official recognition whatever to the student organization for self-discipline, though it is unofficially recognized as no less important than the formal academic curriculum. No boy is given the official stamp of the school, no matter how perfect his scholarship, if he fails to qualify according to the high standards the students maintain in matters of personal honor and social responsibility. It is quite possible that the American high schools, when they are as old



From "You Children and Their Schools," Los Angeles School District

GOOD FOOD AND FELLOWSHIP ARE NOURISHING

as these English schools, may have evolved an equally effective tradition of self-control. This evolution can be consciously and intelligently directed by the school faculty. Instead of an official pretense that the organization for student management does not exist or is not important, we shall recognize it openly as one of the most valuable agencies through which the school may guide (that is, inspire, then educate) the students who are preparing for active democratic citizenship.

Government is the crystallization of custom

The evolution of a system of democratic social control in the high school must recapitulate most of the steps by which democracy in the world outside has evolved. Progressively, from simple problems that occur in the association of small groups of individuals to the more difficult and complex issues confronting a larger and more complex group or confederation of groups, solutions are tested and proved and converted into rules and regulations, or mores and laws. Even though the school is a controlled environment and offers problems entirely trivial compared with those the race has met (famine, war, pestilence, flood, and greed, for instance), it cannot establish a sound tradition of socialized practice except as it builds as the race did, from simple beginnings. Moreover, and what is more important, it is in simple situations that each individual must learn for himself the social definitions accepted in the group.

To illustrate, it is in the homeroom group that boys and girls must learn responsibility, not as a precept, not in the form of copybook maxims, but in terms of the penalties they are certain to suffer if they fail to do what they have agreed to do for the group. The chairman of the attendance committee fails twice to attend the meeting of his committee, another chairman is chosen. The forward on the homeroom basketball team does not turn out Saturday morning for practice, another boy is given his place on the team. And so on, with stimulating group approval as the reward for the instances when the indi-

vidual does perform as he is expected to, or even better. In such face-to-face situations the student learns the meaning of honor, loyalty, truth, sportsmanship, neatness, punctuality, tolerance, courtesy, and all of the other virtues that, under the guidance of wise and friendly teachers, are made operative in the activities of the group.

When a group has worked together long enough so that, with a modicum of direction from the teacher, it enforces by social pressure the observance of these group customs, it has achieved then such a degree of morale that it is readily to be trusted to handle as a group some of the issues that confront the grade of which it is a part, or the whole school.

The students who compose a homeroom group may be members of various clubs, in each of which there will be opportunities for the transfer or social habits and ideals learned in the homeroom. The weekly assembly program provides another *Gestalt*, another situation in which the habits already learned must be reorganized to be effective. As a student grows in social power, as his horizons widen, he is able to identify himself actively with larger and larger groups, maintaining most of the loyalties he has made in the smaller ones. He has learned how to control himself in most situations, and by doing so he contributes the control that his group exercises over others who are slow to learn, or reluctant to observe, the conventions of polite behavior.

In a well-organized situation, learning the social conventions is not at all a matter of conforming, of complying. It is not a passive adjustment but a dynamic one. The individual student is free to inquire concerning the reason for the regulation he must obey, and even though his obedience, in the interest of some larger purpose, is imperative, he is encouraged to maintain a constructively critical attitude toward the regulation he challenges and to offer suggestions for an alternative. He is a citizen in the school, and it is not counted as disloyal when he practices his democratic right to serve the school by expressing a minority opinion.

The student council

The idea has got about that student participation in school management begins when a student council is organized. This is entirely a misapprehension. There are some schools that have quite effective student control without maintaining a council. As an alternative to organizing a council, which is conventionally made up of appointed or elected representatives of the various clubs, homerooms, classes, and other small student groups, the school may carry on the deliberative program for discussing policies, plans, and regulations by stated periodical forum meetings in the auditorium. This plan is much closer to the democratic ideal than any other plan requiring the selection of group delegates or representatives or councilmen. It is the recapitulation of the Athenian assembly, but it has its modern counterpart in the New England town meetings. High schools enrolling fewer than five or six hundred students (and the great preponderance of American high schools do enroll fewer) might employ the forum plan with advantages that are apparent, advantages entirely peculiar to this plan and not operative in the student-council plan.

It is fundamental, of course, that the school must not call a forum meeting merely in order to have a forum meeting. Such a meeting is called when it is urgently indicated as an occasion for the discussion of issues or the transaction of business within the limits of the authority that has been definitely delegated to the forum group.

In those elephantine organizations that have grown up in some metropolitan centers, high schools enrolling from five to ten thousand students, the school forum is obviously impossible. Other alternatives have been employed successfully, however. Quite frequently grade forums are held, and these present the special advantage of a group somewhat more nearly homogeneous as to age and civic comprehension than the school forum. An innovation worthy of special attention is the plan by which a school too large to allow the advantages

possible in smaller schools is divided for certain activities into several "houses," each of these composed of a portion of each grade. Each "house" has its own faculty sponsors, its own organization, its own program of civic, social, and recreational activities.¹

Bass Junior High School in Atlanta, Georgia, is literally nine "little schools" operating within the one large school. Each of the "little schools" has its own student body, its basic faculty, and its own affairs. The Bass Little-School Plan of organization was developed to bring parents, students, and teachers into intimate association and participation. There are only about 140 students in each of the Little Schools. Three "general assemblies" of all parents and teachers are held during each term. For the convenience of the parents they are held in the evening, and about 600 attend each assembly. W. Joe Scott, principal of the school, certifies that the plan permits a school-home relationship that has rarely been accomplished by any other plan.

If the school forum plan is followed, or some other adaptation of the forum idea, it does not in any way preclude the use of other forms of organization for planning and deliberating. Indeed, whether the school has forums or a council or both or neither, it is quite likely and quite desirable that there will be meetings of special committees, some of them self-appointed, self-constituted, small ones and inclusive ones. They will meet once or several times or periodically, according to the time available and the proportions of the matter to be dealt with. It is likely that there may be some standing committees or commissions of either fixed or revolving membership, established to deal with standing problems or policies frequently in need of revision.

It will be too bad when the whole field of student participation in school control has been so thoroughly worked out that

¹ See William R. Stocking, Jr., "The House Principal and the House System in the Detroit High Schools," and Edwin L. Miller, "Notes on the House Plan of Large High Schools," *Junior-Senior High School Clearing House*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (January, 1930).

there is only one "best" way to organize the school. For it is not a perfect organization we want so much as a perfect way of experimenting. The efficiency of the school, paradoxically, requires some inefficiency; that is, the social education of youths depends in a large part on their having responsibility for innovating, for exploring, for devising and testing and evaluating new plans of social action.

Our exposition up to this point might give the impression that student participation is largely confined to the discussion and deliberation that takes place in committees, council meetings, and forums. There is, in general practice, a great deal of talking and speechmaking and what must pass for deliberation. But this form of participation is for most students something to be endured, and their greatest pleasure is not in talking but in doing. When a plan has been discussed to the point where some immediate action is possible, that is the time to *do* something. Once policies are established and regulations are published, there will be many students engaged in the active process of carrying out these regulations. For example, when it is agreed that something should be done to keep the desks and the rooms in neater condition, a plan of action is set up whereby a corps of inspectors will inspect every desk and every room and submit a written report on conditions discovered. This plan consumes a considerable amount of activity—the activity of the students who are assigned responsibility for keeping this or that part of the room in order, the activity of individual students in keeping their own desks neat, and diligent and business-like work of the inspectors—and, once it is under way, it goes on with no more discussion or deliberation than an occasional harangue on the necessity of meeting the inspection standards, or consideration of someone's suggestions for improving the system of cleaning up or the system of making the inspections.

In the Anson Academy, North Anson, Maine, a plan has been in operation that brings the students to something more than an academic appreciation of the effort it requires to maintain the school plant in good order. The principal, Robert B.

Merrill, reported some of the details by which the plan is made to work.²

A Building and Grounds Committee is appointed by the Student Council, with one representative from each homeroom. His duties are to see that the building and grounds are kept in as good condition as possible. Each student room chairman has a check sheet which he fills out daily to report on the state of his room. This he presents at the end of the day for the inspection of the principal. The committee meets with the principal once each week, and we discuss means of improving the building and grounds. Committee members report daily any situations which need attention, and their inspection records are passed along to the room teacher and the janitor. The need for major repairs is reported directly to the school officials. The cooperation of the janitor is enlisted in the program by explaining to him that we are trying to ease his work and make it more effective.

We concede that such a plan may not be workable in some of the metropolitan high schools: the union delegate representing the custodians, janitors, and maintenance personnel would call on the principal to object to any discussion of such a plan. It is the case again of the "poor little rich girl" for whom everything was done. There are some "private" schools where the students and their parents and everyone else who is interested turn out to dig the foundation for a new wing, or to shingle the roof, or to paint the trim. But in some schools students are not allowed to do what they could do. They are not free to plant flowers and shrubs and trees. They are not free to repair broken furniture or to replace broken glass in the windows. They are sometimes like prisoners in the beautiful million dollar building the Board of Education has provided for them.

Even in the most liberal school, however, there are only a limited number of policies that can be turned over to the students to work on experimentally. There are many policies and many regulations that must be determined professionally; in

² "Pupils Cooperate in Daily Check on School Maintenance," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 20, No. 7 (March 1946), pages 406-407.

situations where these are effective, the students' cooperation is necessarily limited to observing them cheerfully and efficiently. For example, it is required that fire drills must be held periodically, and the regulations governing these may have been prescribed by the local fire department or other experts. When the alarm sounds, the drill must be carried out as nearly as possible in the prescribed routine.

In many other matters students may be asked to assist in carrying out established regulations. Students appointed as members of the group organized to regulate passing in the corridors have a status considerably different from that of a home-room committee appointed to make plans for a party. The students who participate as corridor officers, or as members of the playground squad or the assembly ushers, these and many others in a well-organized school derive their authority not from the student council or any other student organization but directly from the head of the school. They are the principal's deputies, whether he supervises them directly or delegates their supervision to a faculty member or the student council. They are the principal's personal representatives, for they are carrying out for the school his administrative regulations.

If this seems to some a formalized type of organization, it is nevertheless realistic. It is an important aspect of students' participation that they should learn to cooperate in some matters by performing faithfully and to the letter such routine duties as are part of these assignments. Democracy, if it is made to work as well as it might work, will still require many inspectors and policemen and clerks. It is not all forensics.

However, this is not to say that the faithful performance of routine duties precludes the right to criticize the organization, the regulations, or the policies that lie behind such performance. On the contrary, active participation earns for the student officer a special right to suggest improvements or innovations in the province of his special service; indeed, his service is incomplete except as he performs his duties with the analytic interest and creative imagination necessary to reveal better

ways of accomplishing the social purpose his duties represent. Whether he is on duty or not, he retains the rights and obligations of citizenship. His criticisms and suggestions, offered at the proper time and place, are essential to the success of the social plan.

In contrast with the "enforcement" officers, the member of the student council serves primarily as a member of a deliberative body. The nature and amount of authority and responsibility delegated to the council by the principal on one hand and by the students on the other will be quite different in different schools. The meetings of the council, which is a relatively small group, compared with the larger number of students it represents, provide opportunities for a more thorough discussion of more issues and problems than could be covered in a forum meeting. As a rule, the action of the council in any matter affecting the students is reported back to the various groups by their representatives and is subject to the approval of the principal (or the whole faculty) and the student body.

There is no one desirable pattern for a student council, for its organization, its procedures, its relation to the principal and faculty, its authority over and responsibility to the individual student or the various groups that, conventionally, are represented in the council. It is important, however, that the student council should be organized and supervised so that it does not fall into the errors almost universally found in adult councils and representative assemblies. If the principles of democracy are to be maintained consistently, the council must be responsive to the wishes of the groups and individuals it represents. It can very easily fall into the opposite habit, the more easily because of the unfortunate tendency among us to delegate our civic responsibilities to anybody who will exercise them for us, and to be overgenerous in the latitude we permit our councils to take.

If there is any excuse whatever for delegating most of the civic functions we face as adults, because of the complex nature of the problems involved, this excuse must not be allowed in the school. There the issues are simpler, and every student must

have practice in making decisions and in reviewing decisions made by his chosen representatives.

The responsibilities of the teacher

A certain number of promising experiments in student participation in school management fail because the teachers and the principal are too much in the picture or too little. Yet the question is not, How much should the faculty interfere? or, How much should the students be left on their own resources? The relation of the faculty members to the students, the *quality* of faculty participation, is the essential matter. If the students are to learn to innovate, to plan, to execute their plans and evaluate them on completion, they must have extensive practice in these phases of social endeavor. But the teacher must teach, in the student council no less than in the arithmetic class. There is not time enough for a class of students to discover all the important principles through analyzing their own failures and successes, even if they had the depth of understanding necessary to do so. The race heritage, or some important parts of it, are brought into the situation by the teacher, who will interpose advice or suggestions as often as he feels it is desirable in order to save the plan of the students from some unnecessary hazard or from certain failure. To know when to stay out and when to help and how to help most effectively is an art some master teachers have learned intuitively.

The position of those who are willing that student councils be given enough range so that they may make some mistakes is advocated convincingly by Earl C. Kelley: "Prominent safeguards against mistakes are evidence of lack of faith, and nothing kills cooperative living so quickly as lack of faith of one part of a society in another." The veto power of the principal was surveyed informally and the results reported by Dr. Kelley.³ It was assumed that the veto power exists in every one of the 450 schools to which the brief questionnaire was addressed concerning the frequency of use of this power. The

³ "How Student Government Functions in 448 Schools," *The Clearing House*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (December 1944), pages 232-235.

results of the survey were encouraging, for 189 schools reported that the power was never used, 90 said that it was rarely used, and only 134 said that it was used occasionally or often.

The relation of the teacher to the students is in some ways more easily established on a productive basis than the relation of the teacher to the principal and the others with whom he works. Obviously, if a school is to be successful in educating for democracy, it must be administered in such a way as to preclude the kind of autocratic direction that most principals afford their faculties. Traditionally, by general consent the principal has played benevolent despot; the pupils and teachers have cheered, saluted, and remained quiet according to a schedule issued from his office. Like a feudal baron, he has held domain over all his subjects, and in his turn has answered to his seignior, the superintendent.

In more modern schools the principal seeks to exert a positive leadership of the kind possible where he has the professional confidence of his faculty. This relation is best promoted by organizing the faculty so that all members participate actively in some of the larger problems of the school. Such participation is presupposed in any significant plan for student participation in school management and control. The teacher who serves the institution not only as a teacher of science, but also as chairman of the faculty committee on grade records and reports and as a member of the faculty committee on public relations and the one on school supplies is better qualified to help students discover effective democratic techniques than was the teacher in the formal school where the principal, on the basis of divine revelation, determined in advance and ordered by official fiat every phase of teaching and learning for every day and hour of the term.

As education approaches the status of a science, it is easier to perceive that the scientific discipline will ultimately displace the ecclesiastical discipline. In the research laboratory where a staff is engaged in carrying out a series of experiments to test an hypothesis concerning the preparation of a desired

chemical compound, it would be the rankest disloyalty for any member of the staff to substitute other ingredients for the ones proposed, or to record in his observations phenomena that had not actually taken place. It would be equally disloyal for him to fail to note and report to his superior any sound idea he had concerning some other hypothesis that might subsequently be tested. The search for emerging truth, whether it be in the industrial laboratory or in the public high school, involves the same obligations, the same relations between the staff and the designated leader, and the same quality of professional integrity.

Precept versus example

Like Antaeus, a classroom teacher depends for his strength on contact with the real earth. Yet for a teacher or an administrator to take any active part in the affairs of the world outside the school is extremely hazardous. Sooner or later he is sure to incur the hostility of individuals or groups who will immediately take steps to secure his dismissal from his professional employment. For a teacher or principal to allow (much less encourage) the participation of high school students in any adult affairs is even more dangerous, especially if their participation allows them to discover any trace of the unhallowed practice in industry, commerce, or politics. The vigorous agents of the *status quo* will always rise up in their might and revenge themselves on the schoolmaster, whom they hate when he is a person of enough worldly knowledge and worldly vision to instruct and inspire their sons and daughters. That the world gets a little better each generation is due to the fact that some teachers dare to teach.

Articulation with adult civic problems

Boys and girls grow up. Against the day when they will be sent out to take up their share of adult worries and adult obligations, they must have knowledge of the wheels within wheels that make up our intricate machinery for social living.

Such experiences as those composing the course widely taught for seniors, "Problems of Democracy," should give the students a working knowledge of the issues they will face. The flaw in any course in civil government is that it is almost certain to be made up of textbooks, references in current magazines and local papers, and class discussions.

Recognition

It is one of the elemental laws of social mechanics that people, young and old, will work harder for social approval than they ever would for material rewards. The school cannot pay money for the service performed by the traffic squad, the first-aid squad, and the other groups through which students share in control and management. But the school, the organized spirit or public opinion of pupils and teachers and other officers, is rich in this other coin by which the one who serves can adequately be rewarded.

It is a corollary to the law above that, in any social institution, you get what you approve, *provided*—and this point is important—provided the individuals whose conduct you wish to influence look to you for their mead of approval, of praise, of appreciation. Some youths the schools have allowed to go so long without the satisfaction of success and praise that they have turned elsewhere for these and are indifferent to the approval of teachers, principals, and schools. Except for this group of buccaneers, there is a natural desire among students to win recognition in school, and the praise of teachers and fellow students. Indeed, it is the outlaws who most frequently distinguish themselves in the service of the institution once their confidence is recaptured by teachers who understand how the school can, and must, organize a curriculum, broadly conceived, through which these youths can win social approval. In any school there are many things they can do which identify them as active members of the school, as stockholders and co-operators in a social enterprise that can have for them enough interest and glamour and adventure to compete with the out-

of-school associations to which they have turned for satisfaction. The assurance of social approval is a potent element in motivation.

The form that social recognition will take is not a matter to be prescribed. To have one's name printed in an "honor roll" may be sufficient. To be one of the guests of honor at a party, a banquet, a reception would be adequate reward for much drudgery. Better still in some instances is the public award (at an assembly or at the commencement exercises) of some tangible symbol of the school's appreciation. The felt letters conventionally awarded to members of the varsity team are sometimes copied, with change of color or size or form, as the emblem awarded for service. In other schools the "service emblem" is a pin or key or medal of distinctive design, in bronze, silver, or gold, depending on the extent of service for which it is awarded.

The actual cost of the emblem is no part of its value. At one of the occasions when Napoleon had decorated distinguished soldiers of a regiment, a civilian observed to him, "These medals, you have pinned on the breasts of your heroes—they are only iron!" "Yes, only iron," replied the emperor, "—but men die for them."

An ultraprogressive cult in education has lately decried all medals, all forms of recognition. This is a natural repercussion from the other extreme where medals were used as bribes, as extrinsic motivation, to secure the compliance of students who disliked spinach or algebra or cod-liver oil, or whatever else was prescribed for their good. The difference between emblems as symbols of social approval for service and medals for eating one's spinach may appear to some to be no difference at all. To us the difference seems considerable, and significant. In the adult world it is an established and a gracious custom to acknowledge outstanding social contributions, even when the individuals concerned were not motivated by any assurance of recognition or any conscious desire for distinction. The chairman of the hospital board, the regent of the D. A. R. Chapter, the commander of the American Legion post, the director of

the community chest drive, the superintendent of the Sunday school—these and many others who give their best effort to the good causes they serve are conventionally rewarded, and the good causes are enhanced by the good will that is incidental to the public acknowledgment of unselfish leadership.

In an ultrasophisticated adult group service is its own reward, and it would be presumptuous to recognize any individual for doing what he should do or what he has had pleasure in doing. But high school students are not ultrasophisticated. Discriminating recognition, appreciation, and some symbol of these are educationally desirable.

Guidance potentials in student participation

In the preceding pages of this chapter the guidance potentials in student participation in school management have been implied oftener than they have been directly pointed out. Having in mind that guidance is here conceived as aiding youths to discover living purposes and assisting them toward the successful accomplishment of these purposes, it is apparent that there is an infinity of guidance situations in any well-planned organization for socialized school control. Both the individual and the group are responsive to the kind of guidance where friendly teachers communicate their faith in the attainment of a better school, a better community, a better nation. The individual takes some part of this faith, this vision, this plan, and builds on it an imaginative projection of how he may cooperate with others effectively for the attainment of some part of the whole plan. Guidance further provides opportunities for the individual to refine his plan empirically. Guidance directs him so that he profits by his mistakes and takes proper satisfaction in his success.

Guidance, if it is to live up to the concept maintained throughout this book, cannot be effective if limited to the kind of teaching that is largely telling. Textbooks, libraries, parliamentary manuals, and the *Congressional Record* in classroom instruction in civic information are of fundamental importance, and the final examination may be a fair measure of what the

teacher and the class have accomplished. But guidance is more than education where education is learning predetermined facts and standardized moral precepts governing social conduct. Guidance is an electric process where knowledge is created and re-created through the experiences of the individual in a socialized group, experiences refined and invested with new meanings by analysis, reflection, and discussion. Guidance is the process through which a student is aided in the formation of a constellation of active habits that should operate to make a worthy, wholesome, and interesting life.

There are some phenomenal metamorphoses in nature; the grisly caterpillar blankets himself in a cocoon and emerges a little later as a transcendently beautiful moth, spectrum winged, no longer geared for slow crawling on the earth but launched for free flight among the highest blossoms. For better or worse, our species is allowed no such metamorphosis. Those who learn only to crawl will always crawl, and those who will have the magic of flight must achieve it for themselves. Our high school graduation program, even though the members of the senior class as they appear on the platform may seem to have attained some of the splendor of the moths and butterflies, is no metamorphosis. The habits and attitudes our graduates have learned as young children and as youths are largely the ones that will characterize their citizenship as adults. Those who have had satisfaction in the practice of democratic techniques are in some measure prepared for effective citizenship in a democracy. Those who have been marshaled and drilled, trained to clap their flippers as circus seals are trained to clap their flippers at a signal, or trained to tap out numbers as the ponies are trained will continue to perform as they have been trained to perform. They will be happy only where someone will give them the signals and toss out the expected rewards, fish for the seals when they clap, sugar for the ponies when they go through their paces.

The Subjects of Instruction—Their Place in the Modern Curriculum and Their Value in Guidance

SUBJECT-MATTER teaching is an abomination in the sight of the Lord, and we should have no truck with it. What one hears referred to as *the* subjects of instruction are merely the result of some queer turns of circumstance familiar to any student of education who has had a realistic course in the development of curriculum practice. By some other set of chances we should have had a very different set of subjects, or perhaps no subjects *per se* at all.

But we have subjects of instruction, willy-nilly. They take up most of the time and effort of teachers and students. If we get rid of them it will be by some slow evolutionary process. The evolutionary process can best be promoted by making the subjects of instruction serve as tools with which the students may carve their way to freedom.

It is with reservations, then, that we devote a chapter of this book to the consideration of the guidance possibilities of the so-called subjects of instruction. It is to be understood that this approach will not be a defense of traditional subject-matter teaching. But it would be entirely unrealistic to ignore the subject instruction that is the bridge over which we must travel to some other plan of education.

If the schools could be free for one generation

When the school can promote effectively normal, happy, successful lives for an entire generation, when it can help children to find satisfaction and self-expression in worthy leisure

occupations, in healthful human relations of home and civic and vocational lives, and when it can promote universal good will among all classes and creeds and races—in a word, when it can promote the integration of individual and community lives, then crime and lust and poverty and disease must retreat before it. If the school can help a generation to satisfy its longings for excitement and adventure in vigorous play, it will render innocuous the lurid drama and novel, the vicious enjoyment of athletics, and the perverted demand for "wild" parties. If it can effectively encourage not only a toleration of but even an active approval of unique individual taste and behavior, it will undermine the conformity of fashions and amusements and appreciations.

Our conventional school subjects have not dealt with life at all, even for the smaller number whom the school has reached. The great majority of adolescents it has scarcely touched. Even though enrolled on the school registers, most students have had no share in the intellectual and spiritual life potential, but too generally unrealized, in the classroom.

In conventional schools teachers have been a class apart, nobody has expected them to come to grips with the realities of life, or to understand the lives of their students. They have lived in a world of grammar and declensions, of formulas and processes, of drills and conformities. In such a world, doubt and queries and self-development have had no place. The teachers' bookish interests and the artificial standards the school maintains have been the measure of all goodness and virtue. The curriculum situation in the high school has been confused both by educational inertia and by conflicting and overlapping conceptions of aims and values. Inertia has determined curriculum practice to the extent that courage and cerebration have been wanting.

Our analysis of the potentialities of curriculum subjects will be simpler if we can keep in mind our original thesis that the curriculum must be defined from the student's point of view: "The taste of the fish, not of the fisher, determines the bait." That is, the real curriculum is generally something very dif-

ferent from the proposed or printed syllabus. The real curriculum is all of the things taken together which, under school control, have been *effective* in helping the student to set up the right objectives, to attain some of these, and to approach the attainment of others. It is not so much then a matter of "curriculum making" as of curriculum discovering. When we have discovered the desirable things to which a student is reacting in desirable ways, then we have found his curriculum.

We could not go very far with such a search for a curriculum before we discovered that, in the schools that have liberalized themselves enough to allow the development of a vigorous program of clubs, assembly programs, and such activities, it is these rather than the formal program of studies that are properly entitled to be considered the curriculum. They are not extra-curricular activities at all, for the hyphen has moved over, they are extra-curricular-activities. And the word "extra" will drop out of the phrase as soon as it is more generally recognized that the curriculum must be conceived functionally. What works is curricular. What does not work, no matter what other sanctions it has, no matter how "scientifically" it has been determined, no matter how highly it is recommended by the right people—what does not work is no part of the curriculum.

In this volume we give separate chapters to the club program, the homeroom, and other phases of school life that are still widely spoken about and written about and thought about as *extra*-curricular. But they are treated here in separate chapters because they are so much more significant for accomplishing the guidance objective we have premised than are the traditional subjects of instruction.

A whole curriculum for the "whole child"

We have long ago conceded that the student is one person. He may have somewhat different reaction patterns at home from those he has at school. However, there is a central core, a basic substance, an integration of all these habits. The integration is what we know as the personality of the child.

If the student is one person, then he will necessarily take home with him and into all the out-of-school activities in which he engages the same essential purposes and plans that motivate his actions in school. Since the student perceives his environment in terms of his purposes, the school does exercise a control over his environment in just the measure in which it influences his selection of purposes and helps him plan their attainment. It is true then that the student takes his curriculum home with him, has it for supper, goes to bed with it. The school does not "control" the home, of course, in any physical sense. But life is a selective process. When the school has become effective in determining which elements of his environment the student will use, then it exerts a control that may be greater than physical control alone. The curriculum has outgrown the textbook, then the classroom. Now we see it overflowing the school building, becoming identified with the whole life of the student.

In civic membership, economic adjustments, and leisure-time occupations, and in the promotion of good will, precise practices are parts of every youth's daily school life. By precise practices is meant the practice of the very knowledge, attitude, habit that the student needs to learn. Just as he learns to pitch a baseball by pitching it, so he learns the behaviors typical of good citizenship, of producing and spending, of worthy uses of leisure, and of general good will by actual citizenship practices, actual experiences as producer and consumer, by actually using leisure time, and by being a friend to all of his neighbors.

Furthermore, because these youths are performing activities typical of their out-of-school lives, the high school adequately reinforces, guides, and directs the activities not only within, but also outside and beyond the school. With the Scouts, the Y. M. C. A., the library, the police, the park department, the health department, it carries on formal cooperation. With the theatre, the playground, the stores it carries on a selective co-operation and competition. With the poolroom, the street corner, the cheap dance hall it carries on vigorous warfare, but

by flank attacks, for it aims to make other and more desirable activities desired and easily possible.

The emerging curriculum accomplishes these purposes by including the normal activities, the joyful spirit, and the reasonable success typical of boy and girl life in the curriculum itself. Thus, English includes debating, speech making, conversation, assembly planning, reports, letters, publications on the expression side, and it includes the reading of books, magazine articles, and newspaper editorials and articles such as students are interested in. Civics include activities dealing with the improvement of the school, the neighborhood, and the city. Physical education includes athletics and lunchroom diet. In art students make posters for drives and designs for school insignia; in music they sing joyfully school songs and make the welkin ring with throat-satisfying melodies. The commercial students take part in the school business; the practical arts and household arts students cooperate to make school and home attractive and efficient.

The new curriculum evolves, emerges. It is not conceived, full panoplied, in the mind of a curriculum expert. Not even a committee of experts toiling diligently through the reports of other experts can produce a curriculum that will satisfy a master teacher assigned to guide a crew of adventurous adolescents. The new curriculum is never more than a prospectus, a rough map of the terrain to be explored. For those who require something more definite it might be helpful to consider the curriculum as a report of what experiences made up the most recent journey to Samarkand, the latest quest for rainbow gold. Tomorrow's caravan may follow the same track and meet another set of adventures entirely, of course, for those who are inspired by Marco Polo go out in hopes of discovering for themselves new wonders as great as his.

This figurative description of the new curriculum should not be translated to mean that the teacher may be indifferent to what he teaches, or how, or when. Literally, we are saying that the conventional syllabus, with every day's tasks detailed, is superfluous; the new curriculum is broadly and flexibly con-

ceived and is progressively adapted. The progressive principle in curriculum construction is concisely stated in the following quotation from an article by Ben D. Wood and F. S. Beers.

Broad curricular outlines and descriptions of desirable objectives have their value, of course, not as specific goals to be sought, or as standards to be enforced at any cost, but as general guides for the ultimate curriculum-maker, namely, the teacher who comes into daily contact with the individual pupil. In the ideal school curriculum-making will become a process of formulating individual goals and of modifying them progressively in accord with the developing capacities, interests, and needs of individual pupils. This process will be a continuous cycle of (1) learning the capacities, interests, and needs of individual children, (2) setting up provisional goals, academic, vocational, and professional, (3) getting the student to consider these goals, at least provisionally; (4) helping the student to attain those goals *by teaching him when necessary, or by refraining from teaching when possible*, (5) studying the progress made, with a readiness to modify the goals if necessary. The indispensable instrumentality for this process is the cumulative record of comparable measures, personal and social data, and teachers' observations, such as that recommended by the American Council on Education.¹

Four different standards of value

Every effort to improve educational practice has its foundations in some set of beliefs concerning the purposes of living and of learning, concerning the nature and method of learning, concerning what parts of the educational universe are fixed and central and what parts are changing, or can be changed. It is a wise educator who is fully aware of his own assumptions; and there are probably some so unwise as to assume that they have none. To understand the conflict that has been apparent through all the history of education it is necessary to examine each of the several movements and to determine what item of faith is its starting point.

¹ "The Major Strategy of Guidance," *Occupations*, Vol. XIII, No. 8 (April 1971), pages 8-12.

For the sake of simplicity, we may say that the honest efforts of educators during the present generation have been represented by four major movements in curriculum improvement, each of these movements deriving its character, its potentials, and its direction from a basic assumption. For the sake of clarity, we must say that few educators, whatever their calibre, adhere consistently to one faith or one plan or one movement. Many of them subscribe to all four assumptions, which would explain why some of the polemics on curricula are muddled.

- 1 There is a group of educators who subscribe to the belief that true education began when knowledge was divided into subjects of instruction, and that subject-matter instruction in the traditional subjects has some exceptional and unique values. This is the academic bias. It turns up in various forms, always easily recognized. In one place it is exemplified by a program of education based on "the hundred best books." In Brooklyn it lately organized itself into a phalanx of "essentialists." In every community it has adherents who champion the Three R's, and the Little Red Schoolhouse has become a shrine commemorating all that was great in pedagogy.
- 2 The second assumption is that curriculum content should be based mainly on a scientific analysis of adult activities. Whatever is, is right, the market research technique, the public opinion poll, the Hooper ratings are conceived in the same philosophy. But in education the process is determined not just by the content, however "scientific" that content may be, it is somehow related to the nature of the learner. The objective approach in curriculum has too often made of the student only a robot, a machine for learning. It has deprived him of his right to have his own interests and enthusiasms. Much of the curriculum revision accomplished during the last twenty five years has had this impersonal, laboratory flavor, and this impersonal element has been enhanced by the objective test, by which learning is measured, and the gadgets by which the learning process is speeded up. We owe a great debt to the scientists who looked at our syllabi and found much that was dead wood and much that could be pruned. The objective approach to curriculum revision is still a wholesome antidote for the sentimental claims of the subject-matter-for-its-own-sake partisans.

3. The third assumption is that skills, facts, attitudes, and habits can all be taught through meaningful activities. This is the basic assumption in the project method of teaching and in much of the unit method. The students see the project in terms of the paper to be published, the play to be written and staged, the school garden that must be planned and planted and tended to bring out a harvest of flowers or vegetables. These are the students' objectives, but the teachers who guide and encourage them have an additional set of objectives for every project: wholesome traits of character that students may acquire or improve in the development of the project. In some situations the students may be aware, or may be made aware of these "concomitant" values; but in most cases, whether they are aware or not, there are educational goals which are inherent in the success of the project.
4. The fourth assumption is that the educational process must concern itself less with knowledge and skills of the learners and more with their attitudes and desires. This credo, in essence, holds that it matters less what the student learns than how he feels about it. It scores no gain where a student learns a poem required in the syllabus but acquires a dislike of poetry and poets and everything and everybody associated with what was for him a "requirement" and an unpleasant experience from first to last. This assumption allows that while some factual information is more valuable than other information, there is no packet of facts that is "essential" for any one grade or any one subject. The student who has been permitted to use his power to discover information that has value for him in terms of his present purposes has acquired the attitude, the skills, and the habits under which he may continue his own learning. He becomes an educated person not by reason of the answers he knows but by reason of his habit of testing all answers, of seeing the question that lies beyond the answer, and by reason of his satisfaction in making continuously the changes he works out as the desirable ones to meet the requirements of changing conditions.

There are few schools that do not represent one or all four sets of values, emphasizing one somewhat more than the others, perhaps, but not flexible and not consistent, consistency being impracticable without first securing among teachers, students, and taxpayers such a uniformity of purpose as is now impossible.

in our democracy. In a public high school it is equally unwise to prescribe Latin for all students or to deny instruction in Latin for the students who choose this subject, or whose parents choose it for them. You pay your money (and time and effort and prospects and dreams) and you take your choice. But in the schools where guidance functions effectively a constantly larger proportion of students and parents are helped to see clearly the relative values of one choice contrasted with another. Where the liberalized or vitalized subjects are offered as alternatives, they are likely to prosper because, in the school as in trade, "there is no better advertisement than a satisfied customer."

What price subject organization?

Under the ministrations of very intelligent teachers who were so ideally balanced in their own interests and enthusiasms that they could inspire and guide equally well the efforts of all students, subjects as such might perhaps be done away with entirely. In some experimental schools an approach is made to this condition. Quite the opposite condition is more likely to be found, each teacher becomes a rabid partisan for his own subject at the expense of all the others. Even within one subject-matter department there may be rivalry among specialists; the instructors of choral music are suspicious of the instructors of instrumental music; the orchestra instructor is subtly hostile to the band instructor; and one must take sides either with the strings or with the brasses.

Thus, advantages of specialization may be nullified by the disadvantages inherent in the overspecialization that sometimes develops. All taking apart and no putting together soon gets things badly unraveled. Where each teacher is allowed to become the exponent of some narrow field of culture, the whole organization belies our claim made to the students that proficiency in each of these several subjects is necessary for complete living.

There is no rational explanation for the peculiar custom we observe when we, as teachers, conceal whatever knowledge we

have of some subject field other than our own, as though we thought that it would appear an invasion of the art teacher's province, for instance, if a teacher in some other department evinced an interest in print collections or displayed something he himself had created in some aitcraft medium. There are schools, of course, where the custom is entirely different, where the music teacher openly indulges his passion for working with tools in the shop, the physical education teacher composes the music for a group of school songs, and the mathematics teacher matches his skill as a sonneteer against the art teacher's accomplishments as a monologist.

The cure for overspecialization and the artificialities that are its symptoms does not lie in some other extreme. We approve the tacit assumptions represented in the standards established by most state departments for licenses to teach in the public high schools, standards that almost universally presuppose some specialization. Our point is that subject-matter specialization is eminently justified when the teacher perceives that each division of the curriculum must have a major social aim in the accomplishment of which it will inevitably contribute to the attainment of most, if not all, of the aims of the entire curriculum. For example, the social science course of study may have as a major objective teaching social attitudes prerequisite for democracy, but contributions to civic understanding, to physical and mental health, to language arts, to scientific thought, to appreciations, and to practical arts are inevitable outcomes to the extent that the major objective is itself attained. Similar results will ensue from the attainment of the major objectives of each of the other proposed curriculum divisions.

Many have come to identify schooling with education. But life also educates. Indeed, life alone educates. Teaching that does not reflect life is futile. Little of conventional teaching enlivens students. It but renders them docile and inert. In our efforts to improve our school for these students just entering adolescence, we have rewritten our textbooks and our courses of study. We have demanded that students learn their book lessons; we have even injected these artificial tasks into

the homes. We have built magnificent buildings and equipped them with libraries, auditoriums, swimming pools, unilateral lighting, and special ventilating systems. We have frequently done everything but grasp the all important facts that the building and the books and the courses of study are always incidental factors in education, and that creative experiences in which each youth's urge for self-expression finds its opportunity alone constitute positive education.²

To be adequate, to be competent, to be esteemed and to have self-esteem, to have an active part in life affairs--thus only can one direct his own destiny. "The rulers of the State have said that only free men shall be educated, but God has said that only educated men shall be free." Democracy's high school accepts Epictetus' assertion; it endeavors to educate youth that it may be free.

Hence its emphasis must be on behavior rather than on verbal and intellectual responses, and on universal success rather than on scholastic standards. "For every death by typhoid fever, somebody ought to be hanged," it has been said. In the same sense, for every youth who leaves school a self-recognized failure, somebody ought to be removed so that he can no longer distort child life and rob society of its human resources.

The confusion of education with intellectual training is the rock on which the high school has been in danger of foundering. Those in whom this confusion is extreme would give schooling to docile and verbal-minded students and would ruthlessly exclude all others. Indeed they remind one of the beachcomber of whom Emerson told, who protested the erection of a lighthouse lest it decrease the wreckage. Just so do the intellectual-training enthusiasts protest the efforts to humanize the educative process on the grounds that such efforts decrease the human wreckage by which they identify "high standards."

² See J. K. Hart, *Light from the North* Introduction. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926.

What are we bid for our harvest?

What does it matter if a generation of youths in school shall learn the presidents of the United States in order "with the dates and principal events of each administration," yet accept complacently the evidence of graft and racketeering in the commercial, industrial, and political organizations these youths must take over? How much is our precious curriculum worth if they take their diplomas and go out to join the ranks of jingoists and demagogues who are willing to drag another generation through the agony, bestiality, and destruction of another world war because they concede that "war is the inevitable result of the human instinct to fight," and "human nature can't be changed." How much of our curriculum will last longer than it takes ink to dry on the final examination papers? These girls who are seniors now in our high schools, when they are wives and mothers how much will they know of beauty as a function of daily living?

The farmer plants his crop and risks everything on the prospects of the harvest and the market, employing all the energy he has and all his skill against the many hazards of the weather and the whimsical circumstances that attend the sale of whatever crop he manages to raise. We who are teachers are paid by the month, and the seeds we plant sprout or die without regard to the wind or weather. How many of us would dare to risk everything, as the farmer does, on the prospects of our harvest?

Guiding Youths of Superior Intellectual Ability

THE MANY and divergent bases for selecting superior and inferior persons appear when one writes down in three parallel columns the names of persons recognized as superior in some regard, the terms commonly used for qualities or characteristics, and the situations in which such qualities might function. For example:

Helen Keller	Industry	Invention
Albert Einstein	Intelligence	Science
Jesus	Imagination	Organization
Thomas A. Edison	Spirituality	Scholarship
Karl Marx	Erudition	Literature
Horace Mann	Tolerance	Politics
P. T. Barnum	Humanity	Athletics
William Penn	Energy	Navigation
Mark Twain	Vitality	Education
Draco	Humor	Exploration
Virgil	Enterprise	Industry
Abraham Lincoln	Sensitivity	Jurisprudence
Otis Skinner	Perseverance	Social Service
Henry Ford	Artistry	Evangelism
Edgar Allan Poe	Wisdom	Scientific Research

A moment of reflection should make it evident that one cannot safely speak about the superiority of one person in comparison with another unless one safeguards such classification by indicating also the quality that is superior and the application. Indeed so great is the range of qualities highly

regarded by social groups, and so varied are the fields of activity in which one or another of those qualities might make for superiority that it is probable that most human beings who are not actually feeble-minded or emotionally quite abnormal might be superior persons in one regard or another.

Democracy is, indeed, premised on a belief in the worth and dignity of each man as an individual. Such a belief in unique personality to be respected and promoted implies a faith that somehow and somewhere every man has a spark of genius. Democracy institutes universal education in the hope that through the nurture of intelligently directed schools this potential genius of every man may discover itself, and through opportunity and guided experience develop its maximum. Democracy holds the truth to be self-evident that all men are created equal in status, and it would provide through its schools that all youths should have equal opportunity to gain self-respect and the respect of their fellows through the exploitation of whatever genius they may possess.

The practical value of abstract intelligence

In all fields of academic scholarship and in all vocations that have grown up in connection with scholastic learning—the law, the priesthood, pure science, and medicine—intellectual, verbal, “cortical” superiority gives one a very great advantage for high-grade service and success. Abstract intelligence, of course, is not the only quality that makes for success and for effective service, even in these narrow fields. Such qualities as integrity, sincerity, tolerance, patience, sympathy, and tact may be more important than verbal intelligence in affecting both the value of services rendered and the opinion of men regarding the worth of any person.

The school environment should be such that the maximum number of intellectually superior students will emerge into functional superiority. Such a school environment stimulates these students both to participate vigorously in the attempts of school or class or small group to accomplish some undertaking and to engage individually in some creative ventures.

Superior abstract intelligence has no functional importance until it is harnessed to some driving purpose. It might be said that abstract intelligence is one's voltage, while purpose represents one's amperage. An electric current must be measured in terms of both voltage and amperage to determine its effectiveness, and so with intelligence.

Worthy purposes, we have maintained throughout this book, are usually social ones, discovered and employed in a social group. The superior student, no less than the average one, must have the experiences through which he can discover his own potentialities and the more significant ways to employ them. It is just as true that he must also be allowed to discover his limitations, and to discover that people at large apparently set no great price on good thinking and are not at all likely to reward with honor and prestige those whose stock in trade is superior intelligence. For instance, the person who has brilliant ideas to apply for the remedy of our social ills must be effective in selling his ideas and will find himself competing with others who have good ideas to sell and still others—high-pressure salesmen, very likely—who have a whole line of shoddy, shopworn ideas of no real worth.

It is in the give and take of the socialized class, the home-room meeting, and the meeting of councils, committees, and clubs that the superior youth must learn the discipline that practical circumstances usually impose. Good ideas are worth more than the finest gold, but they cannot be spent for social purposes until they are converted into the small change of the social milieu in which they are offered—converted, usually, at a considerable discount.

Superior abstract intelligence is superior ability to have and to comprehend abstract concepts. But these concepts are invariably meaningful directly in proportion to the effective experiences an individual has had. They are cumulative, growing, dynamic. The concept of truth, for instance, is not something that one can learn all at once; indeed, it is a concept that is capable of such infinite expansion that nobody ever learns all there is to learn about it, or all the uses for it.

One learns the elemental concept of truth by perceiving it as an abstract element in his concrete experiences, and he adds to this perception from day to day as he is aware of truth or the absence of it. Once the concept has got under way, it grows from vicarious experience as well as real experience, but it becomes rarified and sterile if it loses its contact with concrete reality.

The youth of superior abstract intelligence frequently finds his greatest satisfaction in his reading, using his natural aptitude for verbalistic abstractions. It is his great advantage over less apt persons that he can acquire through his reading certain elements of wisdom that authors have distilled out of centuries of human experience. But the wisdom he gets is a hollow kind that must be filled in at the core by the essences of his personal experiences with people and things. The individual who retreats from reality to the world of books may live there with much satisfaction, but if he stays there long he will forget the idiom of our spoken language and when he returns to the real world it will be with the mannerism of a foreigner abroad in a foreign land.

The participation of intellectually superior students in many and varied approvable activities of the school and the extra-school community is essential if they are to be intelligently guided to make wise choices of curricula and subjects, of opportunities for self-improvement in physical, economic, and social behaviors, of hobbies and physical recreations, and of civic and economic attitudes and practices in relation to home and club, city, state, national, and international governments, and social groups. Without such many-sided contacts with the activities of other youths and of adults, there is lacking any adequate basis in experience for making wise choices.

The guidance of intellectually superior students is too often negative in the sense that they are encouraged to choose abstract and verbalistic subjects and occupations merely because they have natural endowments that make possible success in such subjects and occupations. Students of intelligence quotients above 120 are thus railroaded into academic curricula

MATH PLATE

From "All the Children," 38th Ann Rept, Sup't of Schools, City of New York



and subjects even though such "election" debars them from opportunities to specialize in music, art, or mechanical or civic activities wherein they might find opportunities to develop their unique geniuses

When such negative and abortive guidance is followed by bright students, teachers and parents are frequently disturbed because some of these bright students are "not working up to their capacities." Many of them fail or do work that is of a barely passing grade. Hence, superficial "experts" bemoan the fact that "so little is being done for superior students."

It is of fundamental importance to note here that the measures we use for determining the degree of abstract intelligence students possess measure roughly the ability to comprehend abstractions, to perceive them, perhaps even to develop them; but we have no test that pretends to measure the skill an individual has in *using* these concepts in real life situations. Such skill is learned. It is an aspect of creativeness. It is the habit of creativeness, the power and willingness and constant desire to make better adaptations. Having an assortment of abstract concepts is not being a creative thinker, any more than having a kit of tools qualifies one as a master carpenter. It is the acquired skill in using concept-tools for thinking that determines what value intelligence has for the individual.

Abstract intelligence and creativeness are not at all identical, nor do they always exist together in comparable quantities. Intelligence is probably dynamic, subject to growth within limits, but the power to create in any medium is assuredly acquired and subject to unlimited development. It is the privilege and obligation of the school to provide for each student the experiences that will further his power to create in the fields where he is found to have special aptitude. For those who have superior abstract intelligence there must be encouragement in its effective use. But the new school must offer something better than formal exercises in thinking (mental calisthenics) if we are effectively to conserve the resources of intelligence in each new generation.

The superior youths whose attendance is enforced at a school that offers them nothing better than the academic rubrics are

likely to get a bad bargain. Their precious birthright they are obliged, willy-nilly, to trade for a mess of pottage. Not only they but all mankind are losers then; yet it is rarely that anyone remarks this waste, this destruction of power. Marlowe wrote a great poem to celebrate the wrongs done the "man with the hoe," but there is another poem yet to be written to celebrate this less obvious waste of human resources. Marlowe in his poem warns us of what may happen when the bestial man-with-the-hoe "shall rise to judge the world, after the silence of centuries." By the same token, the academic schoolmasters should dread the vengeance of those they have thoughtlessly despoiled. It would be poetic justice, recalling the story that fiction writers have often used of a diabolical surgeon in his private hospital performing upon a brilliant young man an operation that reduced him to the mental level of an ape, then keeping the ape-man caged and studying his reactions. But one day the victim escaped and throttled his tormentor, a rather hollow victory, since it did not give him back his humanity. Our victims sometimes escape—they become academic schoolteachers, the dehumanized formalists whose vengeance is felt through endless generations.

Guidance of intellectually superior students into academic curricula and subjects is frequently negative for one of three reasons: (1) the school administration stupidly requires counselors to recommend or even to compel bright youths to elect a foreign language and mathematics; (2) parental desires that children obtain the equipments of the *elite* make such guidance the easiest way for the counselors to direct bright youths to fill out their election blanks; and (3) bright pupils are recognized as college material and so they are encouraged to elect college-entrance subjects or the college preparatory curricula even though every competent counselor knows that bright youths can enter most colleges from general curricula wherein they elect as much as one fourth, or even one third, of their courses from among those subjects that are not conventionally recognized as college-entrance subjects.¹

¹ The problems in college guidance of superior pupils for college careers are more fully treated in Chapter Six, "College Guidance."

Positive guidance of superior youths would not acquiesce in such stupid administrative requirements, parental stereotypes, or miscalled "college-entrance" policies. Counselors might not be able to modify them, but at least they would not miscall such stultifying acceptance of stupidities, even though inescapable, by the name "guidance."

Positive *guidance*, on the contrary, would seek to find the areas of scholastic, physical, social, artistic, mechanical, and civic activities in which each bright youth found pleasure in expressing himself. In such areas the counselor would advise the youth to select subjects and memberships. If he felt that there were some areas in which the youth had not found pleasure and success because he had not yet sufficiently experienced the activities of such areas, the counselor might urge his charge to select at least a tryout course or to participate for a semester in such areas. But he would set himself earnestly to protect these potentially precious minds from choices that would involve either more docile uncreative obedience without interest if "pass marks" are to be won, or neglect and complaisant acceptance of failure if such obedience were not given.

In the guidance of bright students, the question of capacity to succeed in scholastic work scarcely exists. The abilities measured by intelligence tests are almost identical with those capacities that are of importance for success in academic subjects. The seeming exceptions, those pupils who have high intelligence quotients but who seem unable to succeed in academic subjects, are cases wherein a more important factor than capacity is involved. This factor is conscious volition which acts as a synthesizing power.

Conscious volition may be affected by wise guidance in such ways that a student wills to achieve objectives that involve work in which he is not interested. In that case, he assumes a perspective from which uninteresting tasks are completed as steps to the achievement of his self-determined objective. Unless such conscious volition is attained, however, the student's integration may be achieved apart from tasks that the schools set. His school work, in such a case, must be motivated ex-

trinsically by marks, promotions, or punishments. Extrinsically motivated tasks, however, belong to an unreal world. They are performed, if performed at all, without enthusiasm and without engaging the whole personality of the student.

It is not that the brilliant youth cannot do his French grammar. It is only that the tiny fraction of the student's volition that directs itself toward French grammar is inadequate to carry his full attention to it. Hence, his unconscious, subconscious, or even his conscious self is attending to music or sex or debating or art or dress or athletics or applause, and his study of verbs is largely futile.

It remains true that the bright student *can*, under favorable conditions of conscious volition, learn twice as fast as the ordinary student and get along with half as much drill. But unless conditions are favorable, he may learn less than the ordinary student even with equal amounts of drill. This condition is so often found in schools that it is sometimes asserted that routine hurts bright students, and that much drill retards their progress. For the student lacking conscious volition to achieve in any subject, drill is largely futile, indeed, it doubtless decreases or prevents any hoped-for conscious volition on the part of bright students.

The best assurance that bright students will want to go on to college of some sort, that they will not become disciplinary cases, that they will not become chronic loafers is to assure them the opportunities to grow as rapidly and as broadly as their talents permit. In cases of socially and physically mature youths, no matter what their age in years, no doctrinaire democratic shibboleth should prevent them from rapid promotion into grades wherein subject matters and activities may challenge them to exert themselves. On the other hand, rapid advancement may be unwise for physically and socially immature youths, or the work of advanced grades may actually be less stimulating than the work of lower grades could be made by enrichment and individualization of procedures.

The bright students hold great promise for the future of society. But often they have little desirable effect either on

their fellow students when they are young or upon their communities when they are older. The challenge to all persons responsible for guidance in the school is to lead each superior student to discover his talents and to develop them in the service of his classes, his homeroom, his clubs, and in all other school and out-of-school associations.

It is important that the teacher-adviser be sensitive to the needs of intellectual youth in every instance, but particularly if they are the introverted, introspective type. We are nowadays emphasizing group action, and cooperation sometimes turns into mere conformity. It is well to have some plan for protecting all youths against the pressure to conform, to comply, to run with the pack. The very sensitive and somewhat reticent youth of superior intelligence must be saved from the pack, even while he is learning how to work with others, to play and plan with them, and to secure acceptance of his frequently superior ideas in the give-and-take of group planning. It is important that each youth be a socialized and socially integrated individual, but it is more important that he shall be *an individual!* To preserve his individuality he will need sometimes to work alone, and he may need to spend days or weeks away from his fellows.

Creative work, not only in the arts but in every medium that involves vigorous intellectual analysis and re-synthesis, depends on imagination. And imagination is not always readily available in the hurly-burly of classes, clubs, assemblies, and bleachers. It cannot easily be seized and organized. It cannot be delivered on demand. For an individual of superior intelligence and creative force, life offers no problem more difficult of solution than how to escape for some part of each day or each week to a place where he can work over his ideas, test and shape and refine his plans. Adolescents must be helped to understand how much their individual integrity depends upon their opportunity to get some time to themselves and to use it effectively. Youths of superior intellectual endowment must learn that the occasions when they may be socially effective will depend in part upon the quality of the ideas they have

discovered and developed in private study and intense contemplation

"Mental discipline" on the rebound

From about 1920 until some time before 1940, the movement popularly known as "progressive education" flourished. It was largely the province of private schools (non-public schools, or "independent" schools), and such schools made a special point of providing educational programs geared to the needs and interests of intellectually superior students. It is not an accident, therefore, that progressive education was judged, and judged rather harshly, in terms of the procedures it developed for the education of these intellectually gifted youths. The movement was too often represented by its extremists, and the enemies of every liberalizing influence in education pointed out the practices of these extremists.

Progressive education is by no means dead, and much of its better procedures (as well as many that were too soon ritualized) are found now in schools where the teachers are unaware of the origin of the practices they use. This may explain the rather common conviction among teachers that they must not "interfere" with the development of youths of superior intellectual caliber. Superior youths, where this principle is observed, are exempt from teaching. It is assumed that they are learning under their own power, and that we should leave them alone and they'll come home wagging their diplomas, *summa cum laude*. But there are several weak assumptions involved in this theory, and it is likely that the youth of superior intelligence needs not less teaching than other students, but quite as much teaching of a *superior* kind.

It would be too obvious to state here that guiding youths of superior intellectual caliber requires teachers of superior intellectual insight and of the special sympathy one must have who works with such students. The leave-them-alone principle may be the invention of teachers and counselors who feel personally inadequate to cope with the needs of youngsters in the intellectual stratosphere, but it is a principle that cannot be allowed

to stand. Whatever educational movement is now in the bud, whatever new trends are gathering momentum, whatever new galaxies of methods emerge from the educational confusion that is an aspect of the general confusion we find ourselves in during the post-war period, there must be plans for conserving the power of superior intellects. Uranium is not more valuable than the brains of men and women who may be able to think through to the next stage beyond the use of atomic fission for self-destruction. If technology during the last generation has drawn to it a disproportionate share of those who have intellectual competence equal to the solution of great problems, then some equalization is imperative from now on so that education and the other social sciences will have a sporting chance to save us from the misuse of the technological principles already demonstrated.

There is no guarantee that progressive education will be reborn in some new and better set of educational practices. There is a dreary prospect that we may see a continuation of the present trend toward authoritarian education. The Army and the Navy are buying brains in the open market, and they have money to spend and they have ways to get what they want. The intellectually superior youth is already earmarked for duty either in the laboratories or the experimental stations where biological warfare and atomic warfare and warfare more terrible than either of these must be developed and tested.

The authors will be among the first to shout Hosannah from the housetops if some other condition eventuates while this book is still read in schools of education. If the Congress of the United States appropriates for educational services as much as it appropriates for the military services, it will be a sign and a token that the trend has changed, and that the control of education may change.

Guiding Youths of Special Artistic Talents

THE MEMBERS of Kappa Delta Pi and Phi Delta Kappa have been selected for their scholarship, their success in professional study in education. Presumably, then, they are a group superior in the kind of intelligence we know as scholastic aptitude. But even a casual acquaintance with these persons would indicate that they are not collectively distinguished for proficiency in the creative arts. That is to say, scholars are not always artists; one does not expect them to be. Neither are artists always scholars.

Success in the academic subjects requires abstract, or verbalistic intelligence. Academic teaching and learning are carried on very largely in words, verbalisms. To be able readily to understand the meaning of other persons when they use a medium made up of verbal symbols, to be able to reconstruct one's own experiences verbally, to communicate skillfully with others by means of language, written and spoken—these are the essentials for academic achievement and the proof of superior intelligence, as intelligence is reckoned in schools.

The statisticians have so far found no significant correlation between the Intelligence Quotient, conventionally determined by a scholastic aptitude test, and performance or achievement in music or art. Of the several creative arts, only literary composition (prose and poetry) would show such correlation with scholastic aptitude. Writers, of course, deal in a verbal medium. But a poet must have some other qualification besides verbalistic intelligence, for scholars are not all poets.

Aesthetic intelligence—that term will serve as well as any other to designate the quality shared by all who participate effectively in the fine arts, whether as producers or consumers. It is the ability to perceive meanings that are not adequately conveyed in verbal symbols, meanings and relations that are discovered by forms of analysis that are largely intuitive. It is a sensibility to relations that are not possible in verbal syllogisms, or scholastic logic. Aesthetic intelligence is an emotionalized intelligence, whereas scholastic intelligence is unemotional, impersonal, objective, scientific.

There is no quarrel between science and art. They overlap at many places. Aesthetic intelligence reaches its highest potentialities when it is supported by scholastic intelligence. But the fact that there is this difference between artists as a group and scholars as a group makes it necessary, apparently, to consider how we should modify our educational practice if we are to provide the most effective guidance for those who are talented artistically, that is, possessed of the special sensibilities that are necessary for competence in the arts. There is another question that may deserve to be answered first. What obligation has a public school to discover artists,¹ or encourage them, or teach them any part of the techniques of aesthetic expression? To supply an answer even partially adequate we shall have to do some skillful skating across thin ice—there are many persons who will prefer to believe that the public high school has already gone too far, is out of its province when it goes beyond traditional “book learning.”

The wolf at the door

In spite of the fact that almost a generation ago we reached our furthest frontier, Americans are still pioneers at heart. The things we the people prize are the things that aid in converting natural resources into marketable finished products. In the wilderness there was little place for men and women

¹ Throughout this chapter the word “artist” is used to mean not only those who are artists in the popular sense (those who draw or paint), but in the broad sense that includes also those who create in music, dancing, sculpture, literature, dramatics, design, architecture, and so forth.

who wished to give their whole time to the fine arts. They would have been considered immoral. This attitude toward artists and the fine arts is so deeply graven into our culture that now, when there is no longer the same necessity for every man and woman to produce material goods, we continue, as a people, to regard artists as queer, perverted persons. We have made a pet of the wolf at the door.

Moreover, we have idealized work. From the Puritans we inherited the attitude that leisure is sinful. In spite of ourselves, many of us have a sense of guilt when we enjoy ourselves at the theatre or the concert or the dance recital. As a propitiation we hurry to our work to compensate for our pleasure by twice as much drudgery.

Since there is such a tendency in our cultural attitude, one is certain to find it a part of our customs in the public school. The parents of our students, the fathers especially, are either skeptical or openly hostile when it is proposed to teach less grammar and more music, or less mathematics and more art. To bring out the sentiment of the town quickly and decisively we would need only to introduce dancing as a curriculum subject on a par with the major high school subjects—interpretative dancing, or “classical” or folk dancing, or even the much more generally accepted “social dancing.” Night riders would come and lynch the principal and tar and feather the teachers who had initiated such outlandish and perverse business! If they did not do so literally, they would express their disapproval in measures only a little less direct and quite as effective. They would keep the schools one hundred per cent American.

Aesthetic creation embodies aesthetic truth

A brick house is an example of things superlatively real, concrete, and tangible. Yet it embodies many aesthetic abstractions. Most of them cannot adequately be translated into verbal abstractions. The proportions of the house and of its windows and doors are based on knowledge the architect has, much of it intuitive, concerning the most pleasing ratio of length and breadth, width and height. In conceiving the form

of the brick house, the architect has used a graphic, not a verbal medium: his drawings, plans, details, and elevations, converted into blueprints, show the builders how the completed house must look. If the architect is an artist, he may have recombined a thousand familiar details into a new plan, a pattern in which the innovations are so subtle that they may be entirely concealed. The completed house approaches some ideal perfection in the degree that the artist has effectively employed the truth, the aesthetic truth, consonant with that ideal.

The value of beauty

Aesthetic truth is an emerging truth. It is an aspect of science, of course, but it contains some fundamental elements apparently so subjective that they cannot be refined by laboratory techniques. The beauty of a sunrise cannot be measured to four decimal places, and the song of the robin celebrating the sunrise allows no yardstick science, will not be caught in any statistician's formula. Aesthetic truth emerges slowly through the experiences of those who are in some degree competent to express intelligibly the essences of beauty they have sensed in the world. The artist does not express himself; he expresses, or interprets, the aspects of life that filter through the fine meshes of his sensibilities. His competence depends first on the quality and range and depth of his perception, but it is conditioned also by his knowledge of techniques of expression. The beauty he has harvested is of no social value until it has been threshed and milled and screened, leavened and kneaded and baked into something palatable and digestible.

Our plea for the artist is premised on the idea that beauty has social value. (This is not the same as asserting that it has commercial value. It has, of course, though those who traffic in beauty earn more than ever they get, in spite of the fact that they deal in an open market where no rugged entrepreneur can establish a monopoly!) It is the social value of beauty that entitles us to spend public money in discovering and educating

those who have the natural qualities for serving society as creative artists.

Artists are valuable to society not because they might be organized into syndicates or cartels to produce "Art" in such an abundance that every family could order its art needs delivered as the milk is delivered each morning. If it were possible to have the artistic equivalent of a Rembrandt on every wall of every cottage, it would not suffice. For beauty is not something one can buy, any more than he can buy health. As the physicians and the biochemists in their clinics and their laboratories are discovering new ways by which we may promote our physical health, so the artists, in their various media, offer us the results of their experiments in aesthetics. From their researches we can discover more readily how to achieve or maintain our aesthetic health. There have always been vitamins—they were not invented but discovered in the laboratories—but we know more about them than Aristotle did.

The artist who serves the public makes available to us as soon as he finds them the vitamins of beauty that are everywhere about us, undiscovered until they are revealed by the specialist, with his more acute perception and his media for showing them to us, for making them available for our use. For example, it was Constable who discovered that a summer landscape in England is green; he revolutionized one whole field of art by painting a picture in which the trees were green instead of brown. But Constable had not begun to see what was there to see in the landscapes he interpreted, for it was years later that the French luminists and impressionists made further researches by which they found, and disclosed to us, the color of shadows and the vibrant qualities of light and color. In our century and the next other artists will discover aesthetic truths that may carry forward the perception of the world to a place where people perceive a far more beautiful world than it is possible for us at present to imagine.

Not only the painter is engaged in the rediscovering of a world expanding in beauty; creative artists in many other

fields are conducting their researches and giving us their conclusions. The playwright, the actor, the director, the costume designer, and the scenic designer all occupy themselves individually and cooperatively to reveal to us new facets of life, new relations, new truths. In the cinema field these same artists are joined by the photographer. In the opera the arts of the stage are combined with the highly refined techniques of the composer, the musicians, and the dancers, all of these adding in their special media interpretations of life, revelations of aesthetic truth.

The novelist, the poet, and the sculptor are well known for their contributions toward the whole truth, and this emerging truth is developed subtly by all the designers and their partners, the craftsmen, who produce the fine china, the fabrics, the furniture, and the great variety of other objects that have a share of beauty. In addition to these fortunate people for whom art is a vocation, there are the many others for whom art in one or several forms is an avocation, and the world is significantly enriched by their contributions.

Art is older than the cathedrals, older than the Parthenon or the tombs of the Pharaohs. Art was old when one consummate artist drew on the smoky walls of his cave the sketch of the bisons he had hunted and slain. In every climate, in every culture, art is a way of enriching life. The artist is only less important than the priests and has been everywhere honored and rewarded, among the Patagonians, the Mongolians, the Romans. It would appear that the value of the artist in our own culture is self-evident and in need of no advocate. But the prestige achieved by the Hopi brave for grace and skill in his dance is not so easily won on Main Street by the youths who follow Gene Kelly or Fred Astaire. Those who dance or sing, those who model or draw or engage in play-acting on Main Street are running against the strong current of the Puritan philosophy of life. If they are not overwhelmed by intolerant austerity, there is the still stronger tradition that art is sissified and perverted, unwholesome and no proper field

for strong, honest men and virtuous women. This is the frontier tradition, established and maintained by its survival value when the plow and the distaff, the axe and the kettle, were the masters as well as the media of those who withstood the rigors of pioneering.

There is no way of reckoning how many artists are lost in each generation because of the Puritans and the frontiersmen who still live with us. Characteristically an artist is a sensitive and somewhat introverted person. Even before he has discovered his own talent, he has learned the social attitudes about art and artists. If his experiences reveal to him and to others some special aptitude he has for artistic creation, he may be acclaimed in a somewhat patronizing way. But if he takes his talent seriously, and if he is sincerely encouraged by some understanding adults, he will be constantly aware of the many others who disapprove. "Yes, yes—that's fine, but artists don't make very much money. You want to get ahead in the world, don't you? and amount to something? You just *think* you want to study art. You'll get over that. You can follow your art as a hobby. But take up something else, anything else, to make your living." And sooner or later the young man gives in. For our culture too rarely awards or approves those who take art seriously.

Close examination of our guidance practice would probably show how nearly the school repeats the attitudes of the community. In the conventional high school curriculum the fine arts, when they are offered at all, are usually elective above the eighth grade, and there is rarely any effective effort to guide students into the art courses, the music courses, and the other courses that could be created for a large proportion of those who have already demonstrated some special talent. Even the art teachers know art principally as a subject to be taught and are usually put out of countenance by the presence of a practicing artist. The other teachers are frequently indifferent to art, or patronizing; and some of them, naturally, represent the belief that art is both un-American and ungodly, though they

would be unaware that this is their belief, and they would resent bitterly any doubt raised concerning the breadth of their culture.

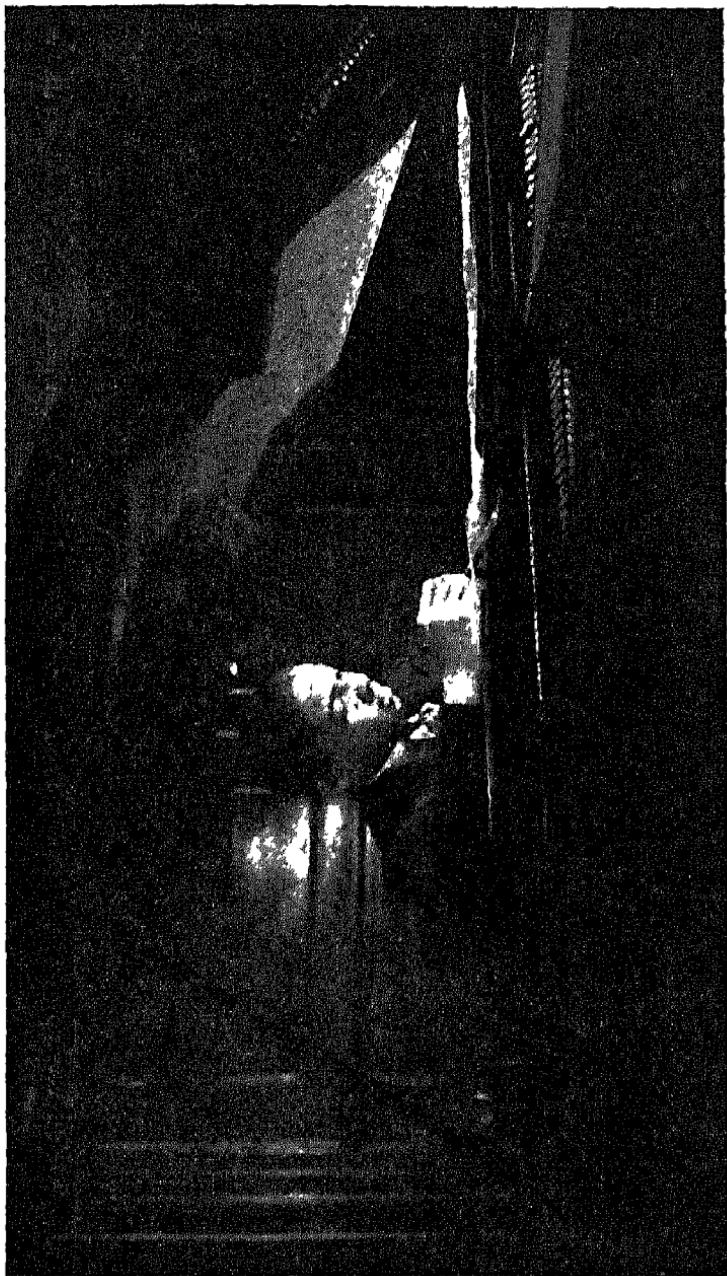
In an organized atmosphere openly friendly to artistic endeavor a larger number of students will brave the odds that stand in the way of their choosing courses in some fine-arts field, at least as a curriculum "minor." Some artists will find themselves, and some who lack the artist's touch will find their limitations, but whatever experiences they have should be, for the talented and the less talented, the bases for appreciational attitudes that will enrich their lives. Those who may never produce art of even passing quality will be, nevertheless, more intelligent consumers of art.

Our concern in this chapter is to set up some theses as to how we may conserve the genius in each generation. Only half true, or less than half, is the familiar notion that genius cannot be concealed, or repressed, but will break through and find its mode of expression regardless of what obstacles it encounters. In some cases this happens, apparently, but the born artist is often too sensitive, too easily broken by adversities to weather the indifference or disapproval that meets his early expressions of his talent.

How find the artists?

If the school is going to discover and encourage artists, the school must have teachers who know an artist from an artichoke. The artist does not come labeled or ticketed or branded. He cannot be recognized by such a convenient token as an Oscar Wilde sunflower in his buttonhole. If he is a genuine artist and not a comic opera one, he cannot be told by the clothes he wears or any conventional set of artist postures. Actually he can be distinguished as an artist only by the quality of the work he does. This does not simplify the matter a whit, for there are few teachers who know what is distinguished from what is indifferent in the fine arts.

The classroom teacher is often aware of the talent in his class. Indeed, his fault is frequently that of finding too many



From "All the Children," 38th Ann. Rep't, Supt. of Schools, City of New York YOUNG COMPOSER

artists. He may lack precise standards to judge whether a student's work shows genius or only a copycat kind of mechanical talent. The boy who copies political cartoons with some accuracy and the girl who fills the margins of her book with the portrait of a "pretty" girl, repeated endlessly—these students are most likely to be "discovered," advised to develop their "talent," and sent home with an exaggerated notion of their capacity.

At the risk of making the problem appear too difficult, we might state speculatively that it takes an artist to recognize an artist. As artists differ in their range or depth of meaning or proficiency, it might appear that it takes a great artist to recognize a great artist. This hypothesis has enough truth in it to note. Though artists are often unwilling, because of jealousy or rivalry, to recognize the merit of another's work, the principle holds that one must know what is good, he must know what to look for, and he must recognize it when he finds it. The conclusion we want to arrive at is that our teachers should be more familiar with standards to apply to artistic creations. They should learn to apply these to the work of children and adults, amateurs and professionals, in such a way as to distinguish between what is in some way creative and strong and what is stereotyped and vapid.

Athletes are discovered in the gymnasium; it might logically be claimed that the art room, the studio, is the place where the artist will discover himself and be discovered. Of course the school will count on the art department for this important part of guidance. But it often happens that there is more art in the school than ever comes out of the art room. Sometimes it is because the instructor is preoccupied with a syllabus to be taught. The young Picasso may go undiscovered because he does not find the work outlined in the syllabus in accord with some driving purpose of his own. In the assembly room or in his classes he draws feverishly, sketching portraits of his classmates, or in some school subject other than art he finds a way to indulge his current interest. The geometry class allows a chance for experiments in design, perhaps. Students whose

special bent is along the line of dancing, dramatics, or some other field not extensively curricularized must be discovered by whoever is competent to see their interest and talent

Every child an artist?

It has been the mode lately to regard all children as artists. It is true that the younger they are and the less their natural impulses have been stifled, the more their attack resembles that of creative artists. The theory, then, has been largely a wholesome one in its effect on our educational practice. It has enabled us to see that the standards of classical or academic art, which had been the standards toward which public school art strained heroically, cannot be applied sensibly to the work of any but art students intensely preoccupied in learning certain techniques. The every-child-an-artist theory is frequently distorted, however, to several unfortunate conclusions. If every child is an artist, the teacher has no responsibility beyond getting out the paints and letting nature take its course. It is wrong to teach any techniques, for this would be interfering with the child's individual way of expressing himself. Moreover, it was emphasis on techniques that blinded teachers to the fact that all children are artists. And so on, to more and more absurd ideas, actually represented in the practice of many schools directed by extremists in "progressive" education.

In our theory, it is not true that every child is an artist. If this were true, the word would have no definitive value. At any grade or age level where we compare children in school, some will be found to have more and some less of practically any skill we choose to measure. It is assuredly true of skill in art, in all the arts. Children differ physiologically, in the first place: the Seashore tests of music ability show how widely members of a class vary in ability to perceive differences in tone, in consonance, in rhythm, and the other components of music. And these abilities are physiological—they are *fixed*. One might lose his hearing, of course, or some part of it, but no amount of instruction or practice can enable him to hear differences in pitch for which he has not the physiological

acuity. The sense of rhythm and the sense of time, both fundamental to the performance of the dancer, are capacities fixed at birth and differing greatly among the members of a class.

Not only in physiological capacities, but in the more important aesthetic insight, the intuitive feeling for line and form and balance, or for proportion in sound, for harmony, for relations, for things that go together and the effective combinations that are possible—in this generalized capacity some children excel others appreciably and a few stand out in such a manner that we call them geniuses. No amount of teaching can make up for it if an individual lacks the sympathetic penetration that the true artist has, child or adult.

Performance alone is the test of the artist. To find your artists you supply them with an environment that encourages free expression. You provide occasions, situations, that call for the various kinds of performance you are employing as a test. You aid generously in suggesting techniques. The true artist will adapt your techniques to his use or reject them until some other time when they appear to him to suit his purpose better. You *teach* children and you *guide* them by helping them to do, to make, to learn, to be. Those who show rather consistently that they have the gleam, the double sight, the sure touch, are your prospective artists, and you cherish them.

What techniques of guidance are recommended for the students who, both by their performance and by whatever prognostic tests are applicable, have demonstrated that they possess the several qualities that distinguish artists? No single plan will be suitable for all cases. Some principles may be established, from which practice will allow variations as often as they are desirable. The following principles are consistent with our general philosophy of guidance:

1. Set up a curriculum for the student-artist that will assure him an opportunity to learn desirable social attitudes and habits. Art is not practiced in a vacuum. If it is to have social value, it must be somewhere related to social needs. The greatest personalities in art have been men who were in touch with their times. The individuality of the artist is not sacrificed but enhanced by social contacts. During adolescence, at any rate, when associations

permanently enrich the personality of the individual, extensive socialized experience should be available as insulation against the extreme eccentricities that the "artistic temperament" sometimes assumes.

2. Since the artist must always create largely out of his own inner resources, the school must provide enriched intellectual experiences on which the student-artist may draw according to his intellectual capacity. Not stereotyped academic knowledge, but knowledge of the past, interpreted, possibly, through a study of the history and development of his own field should give him a sounder foundation for his practice. Some propulsive knowledge of the world and men is equally desirable—some vision of the world around the corner and the forces that are shaping it. Such vision gives art extra social value.
3. The curriculum for the student-artist will provide some technical training in his craft and related ones as well. It will give him some practice in his own field so that his education will not be made up of preparation *for* his special work; it will be in a full part preparation *in* his field. To prevent his becoming too narrow in his specialty, he should have some training in other creative fields. The drama student will find something of value in music, the sculptor will borrow something from drawing and something from poetry. In no case shall the study of the art subjects be conditioned upon the student's success in some other subject, required or elective. The school will not use the student's interest in art as a means of coercing him into effort spent on the traditional subject matter of high-school curricula unrelated to his present interest or future competence as an artist.
4. The curriculum will be arranged to provide for the graduation of each student into what is to be for him the next step in his development as an artist. For those whose resources do not permit post-high-school study of an institutional nature, the amount of technical training offered will equal or approach whatever is necessary for the first level of vocational competence, and the school will aid in making the vocational contact and in the necessary adjustments to its requirements.

Fine arts high schools

In large centers of population there are good reasons why the students with special talents for creative work in art should be accommodated in a special school designed and equipped

to carry on most effectively the type of education appropriate for them. There are several high schools of this kind now established, notably the one in New York City. This school, with a hand-picked faculty, serves as a valuable laboratory where well-formed theories of education in the arts may be tested. For the country at large, however, the general high schools must make whatever adjustments their facilities and resources allow to provide curriculum experiences for the student-artists. The usual facilities can be enriched by the full use of the art resources of the community art museums, where the community maintains one, private collections, and traveling exhibits of paintings and engravings can be annexed, local collectors of fine arts, art and drama critics, actors, photographers, dancers, of professional or advanced amateur standing may be secured to contribute their best ideas in critiques and discussion groups. The programs of local dramatic clubs, sketching clubs, and the various amateur orchestras and choral groups will be available for the benefit of the fine-arts students.

No matter what type of high school is made the headquarters for the special work in art, the principles will be applicable. The special talents of the students will be invested as their educational capital. Whether they become great creative artists, or only competent craftsmen, they will have had more of what is pleasant and profitable than if they had spent their school days grinding away at tasks for which they had little talent and less interest.

The federal government as a patron of art

Since the principle of the division of labor was first made operative, so that one man in a community specialized in making shoes, another hats, another suits, and many others engaged in the production of commodities for exchange in an open market, the artist has had an opportunity to practice his vocation on a full-time basis. But the *Mona Lisa* could not have been offered in the public market in exchange for fish or bread or homespun. A considerable number of artists are engaged in forms of production that are possible only when the artists

are materially assisted by wealthy patrons who can afford, out of their affluence, something more than bread and fish. In the Renaissance the Church, of course, was the greatest patron of the arts as well as of letters, and many private individuals subsidized or employed painters, poets, sculptors, actors, dramatists, or architects. With such subsidies the artists had the leisure, the time and energy, and the incentive to create great works; without an abundance of time for reflection and perfect freedom to create when the impulse is strong, the artist rarely accomplishes creations that are satisfying or distinguished. Our own Nathaniel Hawthorne found it so when he participated in the Brook Farm experiment. He resigned his part when he found that strenuous physical labor left him neither time nor energy nor impulse to write, and he recorded in his diary that a man's soul might be buried in the furrow of his plow.

In our country the artists have not had the patronage of Church or king or merchants' guild to assure significant creative leisure. It is one of the greatest limitations of democracy in its early stages that the government of the people disclaims the cultural obligations generally observed by an enlightened monarch. The turn of the wheel finally brought our federal government into the position of patron of the arts on a scale that would be truly notable if something other than expediency had been at the bottom of the movement. The Works Progress Administration earmarked a portion of its appropriation for projects designed to give satisfactory employment to qualified artists whose livelihood had been shut off by the exigencies attending the "depression." There is great division of opinion as to the aesthetic significance of some of the work produced by these subsidized artists. It is not all of one quality, certainly, but an impartial appraisal would discover a number of contributions of evident importance. The Drama Division of the WPA was a vigorous institution; its vitalizing influence has been felt even in the legitimate or commercial theatre. The Music Division not only saved from utter rout a large number of competent musicians who were permanently displaced

by the introduction of mechanical music in theatres, but it took symphony concerts out of the class of luxurious ostentation and gave them to the people in the public parks and auditoriums. The divisions operating projects in the dance, in writing, in painting, and in sculpture also worked some small miracles that assure them a place in the history of the arts in America.

The ultimate importance of these federal projects is not to be measured either by the quality of the productions achieved or by the human lives salvaged from the chaos and misery of worse than poverty. The significant fact in the WPA projects employing artists is that a precedent was established that attests our belief in the social value of art. We have said, in effect, that not only bankers and farmers and industrialists must be subsidized by the federal government in times of economic stress, but artists as well shall have the advantage of government aid because they are producers whose works are essential to the plan of living we subscribe to in the American democracy, the Puritan tradition to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Smith-Hughes equivalent for art education

If practitioners in the fine arts are needed for the development of a plan for richer living in America, the local high schools should be subsidized by the federal government in the same manner in which they are subsidized by the Smith-Hughes Act for the education of youths who are preparing to enter the skilled trades. The same amount of assistance for art that is now provided for vocational education under the Smith-Hughes law (but with somewhat more flexible conditions attached) might result in a small renaissance. The moral effect of such a subsidy, the approval it would express for fine-arts education, would be worth in its total effect more than the actual money value of the subsidy.

Such a federal subsidy, or some other even more effective provision for the fine-arts departments, is inevitable if the present economic trends continue. When our greatest national need was for men trained in the vocational skills for industrial production, there were subsidies assured for vocational educa-

tion. Perhaps these are still desirable. But the advance of technology makes it certain that in a relatively few years we shall be able to satisfy all our material needs with only a fraction of the present number of men and women now engaged in production. Even distribution will be handled more efficiently, releasing from that aspect of production a large number of workers. If the time is approaching when we can produce more goods than we can consume, it is likely that a larger number of people may be employed in nonproductive occupations. Of music, for instance, there can be no overproduction, with the last note of a concert, the music is gone. Nothing is left over to act as a drug on the market, to upset prices, to occupy space in the warehouses.

The "market" for fine arts has not been scratched. Consider that there are tens of thousands of people in this country, young and old, who have never seen a dramatic performance presented by a company of professional actors. There are millions who have not heard living musicians, accomplished performers capably directed, play a symphony concert. The parks of our country are cluttered up with monuments of unbelievable ugliness calling for the work of a new generation of sculptors. For another century we shall not have the beauty that is possible in homes and public buildings designed by competent architects, furnished and decorated with a degree of aesthetic skill that will require the trained services of ten times as many designers and fine craftsmen as we have at work today. Our libraries are filled with ugly books that must be replaced with others, reprints or originals, designed and printed and illustrated with such skill as is now in demand.

Prospects for a new Athens in America

The quality of life that is possible now will not be realized, of course, until we have applied to our social institutions the same amount of ingenuity and honest endeavor that has been poured into our scientific and technological developments. However, the possibilities of the new leisure will not be postponed until we have remade completely our social and eco-

nomic machinery. These possibilities are pressing and must be realized progressively as our institutions are progressively improved. We are already facing the gravest challenge any nation ever faced. It is for us to demonstrate whether we are able to develop and enjoy such a culture as is possible now that material abundance has canceled out the century-old preoccupation of rooting in the dirt for the bare necessities of life.

There is something numbing in the possibility that America will not be equal to this great challenge, having so generally and so intensively practiced the habit of getting and having at the expense of knowing and becoming. It is easier for a leopard to change its spots than for a man to change the constellation of habits by which he has lived his life. A nation of men does not reform its social habits, its conventions, any more readily. It will take more than one generation of Americans to bridge the difference between the pioneer conventions of our times and the other culture that will mark the birth of a new Athens in the new world.

But we are moving on through the wildernesses. The technological wilderness is all but conquered, and we have thrown outposts into the next wilderness of sociology. Beyond this lie deeper jungles. Only a few have been there in the region yet to be conquered of philosophical, aesthetic, and religious experiences. Perhaps it is away out there that our grandchildren, or their grandchildren, will build the first temples of the new Athens. If they do, it will be because we have, in our times, read the signs well and kept alive the sparks of special genius through which each generation will build new flames to convert new truths.

Guiding Mentally or Physically Defective Youths

IN SOME of our school districts the pupils of dramatically inferior intelligence are screened out by various tests and assigned to membership in a special class, often referred to as an "atypical" class, where the curriculum is realistically composed of such simple tasks as are within the narrow range of competence represented in the group. There are no lessons whatever, in the traditional sense, and the "happy morons" elected for the privileges of this group are envied by certain other children who, though they are only a particle "smarter," are condemned to the exactments we prescribe as minimum essentials in our standard curriculum.

It is related that two little girls of the degree of scholastic ineptitude we know as "dull-normal" met one morning on their way to school. One of the girls had been absent from her classes the previous day. In response to her friend's inquiry as to how she had spent the day, she replied with a sigh and an expression of deepest melancholy, "Well, yesterday they sent for me and let me take the examination to be a moron, but I failed!"

Our practice in taking care of the socially incompetent has made remarkable strides during the last thirty years. The work with defective adults is of great significance, but that with students is even more so insofar as it is of a preventive character. It is a matter of some concern, however, that we have not yet extended our techniques to include with equal effectiveness the much larger number of people who cannot

qualify as morons. In the "bell curve of normal distribution" there is a much larger number who are just above the line than the number who are just below. It is these dull-normal and subnormal youths who are so commonly held up by the conventional "passing mark" of sixty-five or seventy per cent. Their competence, academically, is so limited that they run under their own power only on the downgrades, they must be towed over all the level stretches of the curriculum, and they stall entirely on the first rise that represents the approach to the conventional secondary school requirements.

But the public schools, like the public roads, are for general use. They are not for tobogganing, nor are they for exercises in mountain climbing. They are not for oxcarts or for the meteoric flashing speedway racers. They may provide several lanes for traffic moving at greater and lesser speeds, but they must be so well graded and surfaced that nobody is likely to stall or bog down.

By techniques somewhat analogous to those by which our civil engineers have improved our public roads and avenues, the streets and highways of scholastic progress must be resurveyed and reconstructed. For all who travel on this new turnpike, Curriculum Highway, there should be mileposts, traffic direction, and route signs, as part of the service for getting the travelers where they want to go with the fewest number possible of wrong turns, accidents, and breakdowns.

Our principal concern in this chapter is for those who start out with a very small margin of power for the journey, or with some serious mechanical defect. Like any other analogy, this one will not bear too much stretching—in education, progress is not in one direction only. But it is enough if the illustration emphasizes that failure is an arbitrary concept in which there are always several variable factors involved. We are not judges at a private steeplechase, but engineers for the public, sent out to eliminate the avoidable hazards.

To state the matter in less figurative language, consider that about twenty out of every one hundred children in the elementary schools are unable mentally to cope with the standard

high school course; they may, indeed, find even the ordinary elementary curriculum extremely difficult¹

Unfortunately it is apparently assumed, both by those who cite these figures and others who attempt to find the application, that the ordinary elementary curriculum will still be ordinary when it finally becomes recognized that many youths who are neither abnormal nor subnormal find it extremely difficult. But there is nothing really sacrosanct about the elementary curriculum. If the public school cannot take care of the public's children because of the limitations of artificial, inherited patterns and standards, then these must be expanded and modified to include the extraordinary and the non-standard.

All children stand to benefit by changes toward standards that are not only more flexible and more liberal, but more humane. The first to benefit should be the great number of boys and girls who have lived all their school lives under the sword, promoted with conditions when they were promoted, accumulating with each year a larger deficit of what the inflexible Spartan standards of the old school required. Who are these children who have lived so long in the gloom and shadow and fear of failure? How do they differ from the others who always succeed in school?

Gunting dull-normal youths

Intelligence is the capacity to know and to understand. Dull-normal and even subnormal youths have intelligence in the sense that they know many things and understand many of the ordinary affairs of life. They lack chiefly particular forms of knowledge and understanding that have been conventionally associated with schools—books, grammar, problems in arithmetic, composition. Dull-normal children are almost as frequently successful as are intellectually superior pupils in mental functions that depend on ear, eye, and hand; in social adjustments that involve tact or assertiveness; in such concrete associative acts as those involved in spelling, arith-

¹ Elsie H. Martens, *Parents' Problems With Exceptional Children*, U. S. Office of Education, Bulletin No. 14, 1932, page 30.

mctic, penmanship, typing, and map location, and in physical controls involving bodily strength, agility, and endurance. Without accepting the idea of natural compensation it is possible to note that even subnormal youths occasionally have marked special talents. It is evident that the modern school must formulate its program in terms of a sufficient variety of adjustments so that every student has a fighting chance at victory.

If the youths in our high schools at the present time had found throughout their previous school years a broad-gauged curriculum and social control, and if they could now be assured that their teachers are interested in helping them do well those activities wherein they are potentially most competent (rather than worrying because they are not able to do what they apparently cannot learn to do), their present school adjustments would be relatively simple. The guidance function in such schools would consist merely in helping each youth to find the areas of life in which he is most competent or for which he might discover peculiar aptitudes, and of encouraging him to strive for and to attain success within these areas.

Guidance has a far more difficult and complex problem to solve in connection with dull-normal and subnormal youths, however, because they have in almost all cases been called upon by school and sometimes by other institutions to attempt adjustments for which they are quite inadequate. Failures, disappointments, and even blame and punishments at the hands of unwise teachers and administrators have too often been their lot. Consequently, many dull-normal and subnormal youths in our schools have by the dawn of adolescence become maladjusted cases, confirmed failures, bled white of their courage to try to succeed in school.

These maladjustments are of two somewhat related types: inferiority complexes and disciplinary cases. In the former type, mental peculiarities include seclusiveness, introversion, sexual abuse, and daydreaming; in the latter, the inferiority feeling has found compensation in boldness, cruelty, noisiness, audacity, defiance, and pugnacity. Many of these failing stu-

dents have developed automaticisms or ticks, they twitch, blink, and giggle, and revert to childhood fixations—they suck their thumbs, they bite their nails. Others engage in rationalizing, they believe that teachers or fellow students are unjust to them and prejudiced, or they lay the blame for lack of success to illnesses, changes of school, or other cause.

In none of these inadequate adjustments does the victim face realities or gird himself to meet vigorously his forthcoming responsibilities. It is at this point, therefore, that the school's guidance program must take hold. The first remedy is not to make the dull-normal student conscious of his maladjustment, but to draw him into a situation wherein he may win success and social approbation.

It is peculiarly important for the adviser of dull-normal and borderline students to recognize the positive and constructive importance of individual differences. Indeed, he must, with the support of the school administrator and his colleagues, make earnest and sustained efforts to encourage parents, especially parents of dull students, to appreciate the importance of helping students who lack academic brightness to find self-expression in nonacademic activities.

Unfortunately, our mechanical civilization tends always to put a premium on herd behavior and, hence, on herd abilities. During school days, teachers, students, and parents prefer scholastic adequacy, no matter how artificial and meaningless such scholasticism is. In later life, by a queer irony, any obvious interest in academic learning is often taboo! It is considered "highbrow" and artificial as compared with athletics, business, the movies, and fashions.

The teacher-adviser first of all recognizes and then helps youths and adults to recognize that it is not a disgrace for Joe to fail grammar or science any more than it is a disgrace for John to fail football or music. In the emerging high school, as in out-of-school life, success may safely be predicted for everyone who has talent and training in any one of a hundred abilities, provided his social conduct, his physical and emotional health, and his general good will toward his fellows are ade-

quate. To the degree that the accepted objectives of secondary education are understood by high school faculties and by parents, high school success may be assured to dull-normal and borderline cases just as freely as it can to bright students. For the former can attain health, true fundamentals of computation, expression, and reading, contributory home membership, vocational adjustment, civic competency, leisure occupations, and ethical character quite as truly as can their brilliant fellow students.

Teachers see the seamy side

The negative traits often ascribed to subnormal and dull-normal adolescents need not discourage teacher-advisers unduly. It may be quite true that a large number of such youths (after six or eight years of school failure and discouragement) do lack planning capacity, executive ability, initiative or volition, and resolution. It may be true that they are easily confused, nervous and excitable, sulky or obtrusive, suggestible, impulsive, imprudent, obstinate, seclusive, resentful of criticism, quarrelsome, sly, deceitful, and cunning. We cannot know how much such traits will decrease with the growth of self-confidence. The general adult population contains millions and millions of reasonably competent men who are characterized by some or all of these traits. The primary task of the public school is to deal constructively with its dull-normal students because, first, there are so many of them, and second, they are in such great need of the stimulation and encouragement that the school can readily provide.

Good second-class minds

So far as first-class intelligence is concerned, the school rarely puts any premium on it. Second-class intelligence—the ability to memorize answers, the knack of recalling opportunely the proper answer, the alertness to signals (intonation of the teacher's voice or quizzical arching of eyebrows) which makes a student able to respond quickly with the learned response,

giving the effect of intelligence as convincing as the performance of the trained seals and ponies in the circus—good class intelligence will do very well for most school work, will do better for some classes than the kind of intelligence that operates in reflective thinking.

It is not unusual, then, that some students who have not the capacity for analyzing and synthesizing in abstractions should, nevertheless, be able to win some of the scholastic honors. The dull-normal student manages to do it now and then by dint of extraordinary effort and tact (Tact, as it is used here, may mean keeping out from under the teacher's feet, or it may mean something more positive—the moral equivalent of a big red apple for the teacher every day.) A little well placed effort counts for a great deal of intelligence in most of our social institutions, it is no more than right that some of the academic laurels should be won by mediocre students, for the world outside of the school rarely distinguishes between superlative achievements and those which are commonplace.

The modern high school (which means only a good high school, realistically conceived and intelligently administered) will not compromise its standards for academic work, or for any other type of achievement. It will give academic honors to those who have first-class intelligence and use it with first-class effectiveness. But it will have honors enough to go around, honors for achievement that is first-class in other fields, in music, art, practical arts, gymnastics, and the rest. It will follow the wise advice of the Dodo at the caucus race (see *Alice in Wonderland*), "Everyone will win and all shall have prizes!"

Prizes for all

Adults with a modicum of sophistication find it difficult to understand how some youngsters may derive mountainous satisfaction from the performance of simple tasks of some social value, provided their mead or praise is consistently paid by the person to whom they look for encouragement and approval. The tall boy who is commissioned window opener for the room may privately enhance the importance of this responsibility

until it satisfies his ego as completely as some much more difficult assignment.

There was "Sassy," a genial young Syrian boy who could not have won a leather medal for scholarship, but he was one of the most reliable boys in the junior high school he attended; he was the head usher, and six or eight boys worked under his supervision. They served in many ways whenever the auditorium was used, but the part of their work that they did with most gusto was putting up the chairs!—three hundred steel folding chairs that had to be carried from the storage space, opened, and lined up. Sassy took great pride in the precision with which the rows were aligned. He experimented with various arrangements of rows and aisles, rows in echelon, concentric rows, rows at new angles. He disciplined his crew and trained them to a higher and higher efficiency in placing the chairs and, after the performance, returning them to neat piles in the store room. He used a stop watch to time each job. He developed ways of handling the chairs so that there was no motion wasted, and the whole crew worked with the *élan* of a team of acrobats.

Sassy took a tedious job and made for himself and the boys whom he chose to work with him (he had a waiting list of candidates!) a position of honor in the school and a source of such eminent satisfaction as only a craftsman can know who lends to his work his whole heart and whatever skill and resourcefulness he commands.

Then there was Sam. The teachers in a public school in metropolitan New York recall how Sam, a young German-American lad, came to school in such an untidy state that he was given some private coaching in the matter of his toilet and his dress. He was encouraged, as part of his instruction, to wear a necktie. He did so, and with such personal satisfaction from the warm approval of his teachers and friends that he shortly acquired another necktie and wore them both at once. There were teachers who perceived that Sam's urge for social recognition and approval might easily be turned into more conventional and more gratifying behavior. They accomplished

that, by subtle indirections, and a boy who could never have satisfied his ego through scholastic attainments was saved for grace. His success transmuted him from a youth sullen, bitter, and vindictive into the school's leading citizen. As chairman of the school committee on safety he was sometimes quicker than his teachers to see some desirable improvement in the school practice. When he graduated he was awarded by acclamation of teachers and students the highest award the school gives for citizenship and service.

Conserving the marginal area

It is a wide margin, the area wherein we shall find the great number of students not predestined for Phi Beta Kappa honors, yet not so dull as to be definitely available for the merciful program allowed the atypical students. It is inevitable that, among one's friends, no matter how they have been selected, there will be a large number of persons whose scholastic aptitude marks, had they been recorded when our friends were struggling with eighth-grade arithmetic and irregular verbs, must have revealed them as members of this low-normal group. Yet they are successful and happy, in most cases, and we love them. They are physicians, lawyers, dentists, preachers, artists, musicians, teachers, professors, merchants, mechanics—they are found in every institution and at every level of service. Which only means that health, wealth, and happiness in the great world outside the classroom do not depend entirely on the qualities measured by the aptitude tests.

Success and failure are everywhere relative, and they are abstractions that cannot be measured by any concrete scale. Success in school, for all the school is a "controlled environment," is a matter so complex that no research could explain it. One student's success is another's failure. In a school that prides itself on "high standards," the standards fluctuate immeasurably, for teachers, even the most proficient, the most understanding, and the best-intentioned, inevitably bring their prejudices into every appraisal they make. They are preponderantly native-born Americans of middle-class, Protestant cul-

tural background. They are, quite understandably, best satisfied with students whose manners, speech, dress, attitudes, and general social deportment all reflect the same background as their own; what these students do is right, in the main. Conduct and attitudes that vary noticeably from this acceptable pattern are foreign, outlandish, and annoying. It is no mystery, then, why first and second generation immigrant children are found in disproportionately large numbers among the ones who drop out of high school or are squeezed out, in spite of our democratic intentions. This is the reason, in part, why a disproportionate number of the foreign children are classified as dull, or stubborn, rude, and "impossible."

It is not treasonable to say that we have been less democratic than we wished to be, and the charge that teachers tend to favor their own kind applies to all. The Jews who are teachers do not discriminate against their kind, nor do the Negroes, or the Catholics. But all teachers are of one kind insofar as teaching requires extensive preparation, special opportunities and advantages that are open only to the economic class that can afford them. In every aspect of our guidance practice there is room for the operation of class prejudice, as well as those other cultural biases. Every teacher who is intellectually honest must answer for his own conscience as to how much his prejudices inject themselves into his practice.²

Stupid children are not always hungry

It is entirely possible that in many cases our "intelligence" tests measure not the quality of a boy's intelligence but how much he had to eat for breakfast. Dr. Daniel R. Hodgdon

² The Bureau for Intercultural Education, now affiliated with the School of Education, New York University, has for several years carried on an experimental program of in-service seminars for teachers. The work of the Bureau is planned primarily to assist the teachers to discover methods by which to counteract through their instruction the racism, the bias, the discrimination that is a part of our heritage. The testimony of several teachers who have participated in the seminars leads us to believe that one of the first results, and one of the most important from the guidance viewpoint, is that the teacher himself is made aware of his own prejudices. He is made aware of them at the time he is actually discarding them, and the experience has a unique emotional quality. One teacher said that he feels as though he had got rid of a great load. And so he has.

conducted an experiment at New Rochelle, New York, that demonstrated convincingly the relation between scholastic competence and adequate nourishment. A group of children provided with extra meals of wholesome nourishing food at his school gained not only in weight and physical strength but also in the qualities measured by the intelligence tests and in ability to learn the lessons assigned them.

The implication is that some of the children we have classified as dull-normal may be more in need of food than they are in need of teaching. For them effective guidance would lead them directly to a program of meat and milk and vegetables—the first courses they need are those which make up a seven-course dinner. Ordinarily the school is not equipped to provide this kind of guidance, but an alert teacher may sometimes be able to distinguish between the children who are dull and hungry and those who are only hungry.

Bruce and Freeman call attention to the importance of proper nourishment in adequate amounts for adolescent youths.

. . . The results of specific vitamin deficiency are spectacular and serious. Depending upon the nature of the deficiency, there may be damage to the sexual structure and function, tooth deterioration, disease of the nervous tissue (and possible impairment of learning ability), damage to the capillaries, interference with metabolism of calcium and phosphorus, damage to skin and digestive system. It is common knowledge, also, that chronic iodine starvation results in simple goitre.

These conditions are mentioned not for the purpose of parading a gallery of morbidity, but simply to emphasize the importance of nutrition and healthy body functioning during adolescence which is a period of rapid growth and accelerated glandular activity; for the importance of optimum nutrition during adolescence, and indeed throughout the period of growth from the moment of conception, is being more and more widely recognized among educators and sociologists who are realizing that too often they are confronted by the end results of conditions which have been in operation for years through ignorance or faulty handling.³

³ William F. Bruce and Frank S. Freeman, *Development and Learning*. New York: Henry Holt & Company, Inc., 1942, pp. 149 *et seq.*

The teacher, Bruce and Freeman point out, is dealing not alone with a student's aptitudes or intelligence but, inescapably, is confronted with a total organism. Democracy is no more than a legend to the sharecroppers, the impoverished slum dwellers, and the others who lack the nutritional elements imperative for normal physical development and emotional stability.

In a certain junior high school there was a drive on—every homeroom must subscribe one hundred per cent for the school magazine. The subscription was to cost ten cents. One homeroom adviser still remembers the final report made by one of the girls of his group when the subscriptions were called for. "My mother says she's sorry but I can't subscribe, because when we have ten cents we buy a loaf of bread."

Wishing it does not cause every student to be well fed and well clad. The resources of the school are not of the type that can be used to remedy the material defects in the lives of our students. The richest things we have to give them in music and art and literature will not entirely take the place of food to eat when they are hungry or warm clothes to wear when they are cold. Yet there is a place for the things that feed the mind and warm the spirit. Even if these children all came to us rosy and well nourished, comfortably and fashionably dressed, provided with everything of a material nature that they require, we could not justify setting before them the chaff and husks that make up too large a part of what the schools in general have to offer. Since there are still many who are not only hungry, but wretched and desperate from endless seasons of poverty, we should have something that is good for them. We should have something to offer that will furnish them a modicum of reassurance.

A boy who is hungry may be fed, and a girl who is dejected may be cheered, but what do we have in our guidance kit-bag that will help us to make whole the youths who are blind, or deaf, or crippled? Surely the most serious test of our faith in guidance is here. Permanent physical defects reveal themselves to us immediately and emphatically, and our prac-

tice in this field of guidance has been developed over a much longer period than we have given to the study of many types of mental and emotional defects.

Guiding students who have permanent physical defects

After a momentary silence spake
Some Vessel of a more ungainly Make
 "They sneer at me for leaning all awry;
What! did the Hand then of the Porter shake?"

—*Rubaiyat* LXXXVI

The first principle for guiding those who have specific physical defects is that, as soon as it is possible and so far as it is possible, these shortcomings should be ignored. Such a principle is, of course, shocking to all teachers whose predisposition is to worry over other people's faults. It is obvious that it is not feasible to ignore all specific defects. Cardiac cases must be protected against the dangers that active participation in strenuous athletics would involve. Defective eyesight, spinal curvature, and other marked physical defects cannot be ignored. Nevertheless, the school and its teachers can and should make the necessary adjustments with as little public attention to them as possible.

Adler has shown that the chief effort of an individual suffering from the disadvantages of a physical defect is to overcome his sense of inferiority. His body as a whole is so constructed and controlled that it increases the activity of other organs, or other parts of the same organ, to compensate for the physical defect, if such adjustment is possible. Mental peculiarities accompany such adjustments owing to a consciousness of the disadvantage that the defective person feels when he is thrown into contact with his normal fellows.

Such a mental fixation may become the cause of serious nervous troubles, since it leads to mental and nervous compensations and eccentric behavior. Excessive self-assertion and cruelty are sometimes overt symptoms of unconscious protest against physical inferiority. This is the so-called "masculine protest."

Even more seriously harmful, however, is the chronic feeling of inferiority evidenced by fears, nervousness, and seclusiveness. Such neurotics try to hide from themselves the facts of their physical inferiority. They try to divert their own attention and that of others to the characteristics chosen as compensations, extreme fashions, grimaces, postures, and so forth, or they avoid the attention of others by withdrawing from all social participation. As frequent accompaniments and symptoms of this consuming feeling of inferiority there are displays of envy and jealousy, extreme sensitiveness to criticism and imagined neglect, and attempts to undervalue others. These reactions are understandable, especially when the physically defective one lives among people who are not sympathetic or make no effort to help him find worthy and effective ways of compensating.

It was the Roman practice to allow a sporting chance to the Christian martyrs who entered the arena to fight for their lives against professional gladiators. In our times the child with some physical defect is thrown into many competitive situations without any compensatory advantages except those he makes for himself. His need is so great and so continuous that his natural tendency is to break the rules of the game, to make his own rules in his own favor, to defy school regulations, police regulations, and constituted authority wherever it imposes restrictions that make him aware of his disadvantages. The roster of criminals and juvenile delinquents will disclose a disproportionate number of persons with physical defects, who chose without adequate guidance their ways of equalizing their chance of victory in the battle royal. Case studies of delinquents sometimes indicate that the school not only failed in its duty to these youngsters but even aggravated their intolerable difficulties.

Even in the school systems where good physical examinations are undertaken and treatment instituted, any handicap is practically always considered merely in terms of academic performance. We find very little attention is paid to physical conditions as they may be related to personality difficulties which often loom large in the

school situation and sometimes definitely tend to engender delinquent behavior. . . .

Handicaps that lead the pupil to be teased by his school fellows create the outstanding situations that we have known to be related to delinquency. In a number of instances when a boy was reassayed he found the jeering of his comrades quite intolerable. Extremely difficult delinquent cases have been based on this. . . .

The terrible social handicap of stuttering with its very plain relationship, in some cases, to the development of a delinquent career has repeatedly been dwelled on by a number of those working in this field and need not here be more than briefly mentioned.

Much less well known are the variabilities in auditory powers caused by ear diseases. In one of the most marked cases of this that we have followed, expert opinion and careful observation prove that the difficulty lay in the fact that the boy's hearing powers were very considerably lessened at times by atmospheric dampness. The boy himself in his younger years hardly knew what was the matter with him. His teachers, not suspecting an ear disease because of his periods of normal hearing, attributed his troubles to character defects. His inadequacy to meet the school situation led, through the constant blaming of the boy, to an immense sense of inferiority and inadequacy that has followed him through to young adult life, where he still remains, through patterns of behavior long established, an individual easily succumbing to temptations toward delinquency.⁴

By a perverse kind of logic, the individual bearing some physical defect is anxious to prove to himself that he is superior to his limitation. The armless man learns to write with his toes and achieves Spencerian flourishes that he would not have learned to write if he had hands. There are any number of deaf persons who have "mastered" the pianoforte. The late Senator Schall, congenitally blind, had a long list of achievements, and on the day when he was killed in the street by an automobile, he had just returned from a pistol range where he had been practicing shooting at target.

Ergo, the teacher concerned with the positive guidance of youths who are crippled or otherwise limited by some physical

⁴ William Healy and Augusta G. Branner, II. From the School Product of Peven Inebriates. *Journal of Ed.* 21d Series, Vol. VI, No. 8 (April, 1931), pages 450-470.

defect cannot expect them always to respond to opportunities for achievement of a type that minimizes their limitations.

However, many fortunate youths avoid undue consciousness of their inborn or acquired defects by successful accomplishments in fields in which they are not deficient. The physically unattractive girl may become a leading scholar or artist; the youth of low abstract intelligence may find wholesome expression through athletics or student government.

Herein may be found the primary function of the teacher-guide in his relations with students who have specific defects. He gives no sign of noticing the specific defects until he has successfully inspired the youth to participate with obvious success in activities wherein he may feel confident of victories. By such a positive program of encouragement and practice, the teacher-guide may lead his charges to recondition their ego expressions in wholesome search for attainable approvals from their fellows.

It is fortunate that in a world so varied as the one in which we live every youth has native talents or previous experiences that potentially lift him out of mediocrity in some aspect of school activities and, indeed, in some phase of almost every generously conceived school activity. The youth who has lived in South America, the one whose father works in a bakery, the one who keeps pigeons, the one who has learned to knit competently, the one who can draw, the one who owns his own car, the one who likes fishing, the one who has met a prominent man, the one whose grandparents remember the events of the Reconstruction Period, the one who knows the Scottish dances—every one of these pupils has some unique contribution to make if the resourceful adviser will seek it and afford the encouragement and opportunity and approval that assure its expression.

It would be absurd, of course, to assert that the school alone could actually overcome the shortcomings of nature and of society. Nevertheless, it could so build upon the native and acquired resources of its students that physical and mental and

conduct abnormalities would seldom require such drastic provisions as special schools for delinquents, for cripples, for visual and auditory defectives, and for the anaemic.

Such proficiency being uncommon in education, it is apparently necessary for the most unusual cases to have recourse to special classes and, in the larger centers of population, special schools. These special provisions are by no means general.

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association presented the following arguments, in part, in support of the continuance of special provisions for exceptional children:

The provision of education for exceptional children, both handicapped and gifted, is a sound part of public policy and should lead to all types of such children receiving the treatment best fitted to their intellectual and physical needs (Sixth Yearbook, pages 213-229).

In 1870 the public schools enrolled but 50 per cent of all children of school age, as compared with 81 per cent in 1930. Subjecting all of these children to the school program which experience had developed for the average has resulted in behavior difficulties, failures, and ineffectiveness. As research investigators have probed into this mass of difficulties, they have revealed the great range of individual differences in the physical and mental characteristics of pupils. In meeting the newly discovered demands, school authorities have developed special classes, new curriculums, differentiated assignments, new devices, and specially prepared teachers. Efforts have been made to help the crippled, the deaf, the blind, the mentally dull, and the mentally bright.

But the efforts of many leading school authorities to deal with the problem have not met with complete success. There are principals and teachers who prefer to work only with the normal child. Some citizens have called the special classes "fads and frills." Even parents sometimes prefer to keep their atypical children in seclusion until circumstances force such children into state institutions.

There can be little debate over the fact that the exceptional child exists in such numbers as to constitute a real problem. It is clear, also, that the handicapped child is forced often by strenuous eco-

nomic conditions either into crime, or into hospitals for the mentally diseased, almshouses, and other state institutions. The cost for maintaining adults in such agencies exceeds the cost of educating even the most difficult types in public schools.⁵

Such schools must direct their main efforts to overcoming the unfortunate disabilities that have been inherited or developed by their students during the preceding years. To do so with the hope of a high degree of success they must recruit the pupils' desires to achieve normal adjustments or to compensate for those that it is not possible to achieve.

In the case of the school, many of the adjustments conventionally demanded of normal students are not of universal importance. The fact that they are conventionally demanded of normal students, however, too often leads to the assumption that they are important. Consequently, there is much waste motion and sometimes increased discouragement and maladjustment in special schools, owing to the artificial standards of achievement that are maintained.

In planning or in reconsidering the scope and function of the guidance program in every school for physically or mentally limited youths, therefore, it is first of all necessary to delimit the problem by making sure what adjustments are so necessary to normal living that they must be attained by every student if possible. Also, it is necessary to recognize that many other adjustments may be desirable for students in all schools, and are therefore to be encouraged even though they are not universally achieved in schools for normal children.

For those minimal achievements that are essential the school can readily develop and present such compelling social and individual motives that they become intrinsically stimulating to students. Such motives will be found in the normal and vigorous community life of the school, just as they exist in the large community which the school represents and to a degree reproduces.

⁵ *Critical Problems in School Administration*, Twelfth Yearbook, 1934 Washington, D. C. National Education Association, page 33

*Guidance in schools for the physically and
mentally handicapped*

There are said to be some three million children in the elementary schools of the United States who require special treatment and training to make the most of their possibilities. Presumably there are at least half as many more such youths of high school age, many, perhaps most of them, eliminated from or maladjusted to their schools.

It is very likely that intelligently planned and administered schools with competent, humane teachers could, and in some cases do, provide with reasonable adequacy for a very large fraction of these youths without segregating them in special classes. If all schools should come to be so adequate, nevertheless, there might still remain needs for special classes and special schools for those unfortunate students who cannot be dealt with in regular classes and schools. Tubercular, insane, and seriously delinquent, and behavioristically very abnormal students might endanger their fellows if they were not segregated. Temporarily, at any rate, the crippled, the blind and the partially seeing, the deaf and the hard of hearing, and those seriously mentally retarded must be segregated for at least part of the school day in order that they may learn to use the special techniques that may make it possible for them to attend regular classes with their schoolmates.

Only when considerable positive progress has been made in helping the student with specific defects to attain school and extraschool victories wherein success and satisfaction have mellowed his spirit and, to some degree, extroverted his introverted personality, should the teacher stress the need for special measures to overcome or recondition the student's defects or shortcomings. When that time comes, the youth would be helped to set for himself the objective of mastering the least difficult process that he and his adviser can discover. Ambition to overcome, or at least to decrease, his disability is made potent by the courage and self-confidence that result from his personality improvement.

In cases where the defect is inherent and largely irremediable, the self-confident student is helped to face reality and to dismiss it as a cause of worry. It is thus that well-integrated characters move confidently and effectively in their words. Charles W. Eliot became great as a university president and a leader of public opinion despite a birthmark that might have unfitted him for success as a social lion. Charles P. Steinmetz succeeded as an electrical engineer though he could never have made a football team. The record is filled with the personal triumphs of men and women who got around insurmountable defects. Counterparts of these persons, even though of lesser stature, exist in every classroom of heterogeneous students. They must be helped to succeed by the exploitation of whatever talents they have. Under no circumstances should specific defects be permitted to interfere with their natural right to success.

Even the dull student with specific defects has sufficient usefulness to circumvent his weakness, if only teachers and administrators will ignore the defects until the student has won some significant victories. Else, the dull student's circumvention may lead him to antisocial behavior, to daydreaming, or to sex perversion. In his case the school stereotype must be avoided or disaster is certain.

Guidance problems and procedures in special schools for students mentally or physically deficient

It is the thesis of the authors of this book that any school system that would develop adequate activity and guidance programs for all youths from the kindergarten (or better, the nursery school) through the twelfth grade or the junior college, would thereby decrease and almost eliminate the need for most of the special-class devices that are frequently maintained. In other words, despite the biologically and socially inherited tendencies toward abnormal physical and behavior conditions, the school could so conserve and promote desirable capacities and traits as to release itself from a very large fraction of the health and behavior problems that so frequently

cause its constructive program to break down in the higher grades.

Such segregation and special instruction are usually carried on in the elementary school, if at all. Only occasionally do secondary schools provide special classes specifically designed for student needs as distinguished from institutional needs. Students who fail or are in danger of failing to pass in school subjects are often segregated, but seldom are those whose physical or behavioristic shortcomings demand attention permitted the luxury of preventive or corrective classes of their own. In the early 1920's, the DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City, had such a class for students whose personality adjustments were seriously defective, and Central High School of Tulsa and many other high schools held special physical education classes for students with similar organic defects.

When physical disability is not accompanied by an unfortunate mental state either of introversion and inferiority or of attention getting, both of which for obvious reasons frequently are associated with physical shortcomings, it is not difficult to engage a cooperative attitude based on an acceptance of reality. In any case, however, the crippled or anaemic or otherwise physically defective youth should be encouraged to engage vicariously in the athletic games of the other students. Indeed, as reporter, scorekeeper, manager, equipment keeper, mascot, or even as assistant to the coach, some of them may find themselves actual participants in the athletic life of the school.

In schools or special classes devoted to the partially seeing and blind students, special equipment is required. For the former, textbooks are printed in large type; typewriters are often provided or special pencils and pens and ink are used that assure very black lines; maps, pictures, and handwork are used. For the totally blind, Braille must, of course, be substituted for type and models for maps.

In either case, it is desirable that the students should associate both in class and in student activities with the other students and that the latter should be encouraged to accept them as colleagues and as equals, thus decreasing the ways in which

the former feel their difference. When special Braille classes are conducted in the elementary schools, blind and partially seeing high school students are treated just as other students are.⁶ It is evident that the regular school has important social-psychological advantages over the special schools for the blind; the latter are necessary, however, wherever elementary schools do not provide Braille instruction. As soon as possible, the blind student should be returned to the regular schools.

Students who have been deaf since birth or early childhood present problems that are much more serious than those of hard-of-hearing students who have developed impairment of hearing after having learned to speak and to understand speech and language. Special classes for lip reading are maintained by larger progressive school systems; in connection with these classes, deaf children are taught to speak with normal pitch and intonation. As rapidly as possible, the students enter into the regular life of the school in order both to adapt their own modes of behavior to those of the other students and to free themselves of self-consciousness. As in the case of the blind students, special schools for the deaf and hard of hearing must be utilized wherever the regular schools do not provide special instruction for them, but they should be returned to regular schools as soon as they have learned lip reading and voice placement.

Students of abnormal mentality are cared for in special schools only if they are definitely defective or if they present difficult behavior problems. Less serious cases of mental retardation are frequently grouped in special classes either as a part of a system of homogeneous grouping or as supplements of a heterogeneous or random grouping of all normal students. In a special group that serves mentally handicapped students, there are greater freedom, more uses of concrete materials, greater individualism, less dependence on conventional academic tests, and less adherence to the same standards of achieve-

⁶ Mayer Lesowitz, "The Blind Student in the High School," *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City* Vol. XVII, No. 3 (March, 1936).

ment for all students than are found in conventional classrooms. The successful functioning of dull-normal youths is essential to their growth, a principle that parallels that controlling the growth of normal students as well as the mentally handicapped but which is less often practiced for them. Guidance for the dull is inherent in these five practices—freedom, concrete materials, individualization, functional tests, and flexible standards—for in them each youth establishes goals that are dynamic for him, that he is able to reach, and that are worthy of effort. In his endeavors, the teacher encourages him, guides his steps, and approves of every earnest attempt and especially of every success, no matter how unimposing it may appear.

All of us who tend to be traditional in our judgments of school competence tend to think of the public secondary schools as exclusively for youths who are normal, and "normal" means to us ability to be successful in the conventional subjects of instruction. Rather than permit a "special class" for mentally retarded youths, we would have them sent off to an institution. But the fact is that the youth cannot be committed to an institution unless he is *socially incompetent*.

Moreover, there is some evidence that the special classes maintained by some school districts do a better job with mentally handicapped youths than is done by institutions. One study that involved a follow-up survey of the employment histories of two groups of approximately equal mental capacity showed that the public school group had a higher average earned wage and fewer changes in jobs than the control group who had been discharged from institutions. Louis Stein, writing for *The Clearing House*,⁷ also pointed out that many of those we classify as mentally retarded become economically and socially self-sufficient. "It takes a mental age of five or six to do wrapping, labeling, or simple packing, a mental age of seven to run errands, a mental age of eight to do cutting,

⁷ Some Questions for Teachers of the Mentally Retarded, *The Clearing House*, Vol. 19, No. 5 (January, 1945), pp. 26-27.

stacking, or folding; a mental age of nine to do sewing or assembling; a mental age of ten to make ornamental jewelry."

In the veterans' hospitals one may see the application of some of the principles discussed above. Veterans who have lost one or more limbs, or who have lost the functional use of arms or hands, are put through a course of training that not only is designed to make them in some measure able to care for themselves, but is carefully engineered to restore to them their personal poise, their morale. This aspect of the rehabilitation program is replete with implications for those of us who must deal with children or youths who are physically defective. The work that has been done in recent years with spastics represents a major contribution by teachers specializing in this field as well as by the representatives of the medical profession.

Teachers who are serving their novitiate are sometimes heard to remark that they hope they may survive the various classroom trials until the day when they will be assigned to teach only "bright" students. It is to the glory of our profession that some of these teachers soon discover that the greatest satisfaction one can have may be in teaching the lame, the halt, the blind, and the academically deficient youths who are so much in need of help from teachers who are skillful and patient and friendly. If it is true that the poor and the miserable hold in their hands the patents of nobility, then it must also be true that the highest degree any teacher can win is conferred by the gratitude of disadvantaged youths who have been given help when they were most in need of help.

Guidance as the Redirection of Potential Delinquents

WE HAVE made a little progress since the time two hundred years ago when the gallows was erected in the public square and a general holiday was declared to celebrate an execution, but our newspapers still pander to the public taste for grisly details when some notorious criminal "pays his debt to society" in the death house. If the general public is to be persuaded to support an extensive program of crime prevention, the dramatic interest must be shifted from the electric chair to the high chair. If school men generally are to be brought to realize their obligations to the potential delinquent, the criminal in the egg, it might be well to select by lot a teacher, a principal, or a superintendent to throw the switch when the hour comes for the occasion which the tabloid headlines will celebrate: YOUTHFUL GANGSTER BURNS IN CHAIR.

Fortunately, there are many teachers who perceive the obligation of the school, even when it seems improbable that all the resources of the school can counteract the unfortunate elements in a complex of circumstances that propels certain youths toward ultimate tragedy. The term "guidance" never has more dramatic significance than when we use it in connection with the redirection of the unhappy young people who, for various reasons, have got off on the wrong foot. This chapter offers a few of the many considerations that bear on the whole subject of the guidance of youths predisposed toward delinquency and criminality.

Definition of delinquency

It is obvious that, just as there are relatively few adults brought to book out of the whole number who violate the law, so there are only a small number of juvenile offenders who are apprehended. It has been the custom to think of delinquents as the youths dealt with by the courts; this view is consonant with the popular notion that the only crime is being caught. But there are more fish than those brought up in the nets, and the ones that are caught are not very different from the ones that get away. The children and youths who are booked as delinquents are only a random sampling from the whole number. Delinquency, then, is "any such juvenile misconduct as might be dealt with under the law."

The expansion of the definition of delinquency is not made in order to condone juvenile misconduct or to justify the mischief of those who are brought to court. But it is a necessary expansion if the extent of delinquency is to be perceived, and it shifts the emphasis from punishment to prevention. It makes delinquency a problem not just for courts of law but for communities.

The old Puritanical ideas of sin, of blame, of punishment still operate in our attitude toward child offenders as well as adult offenders. But there is a strong sentiment abroad which calls on the public to "abandon the practice of finding fault, of laying blame, and to recognize the fact that the causes of delinquency are natural and universal, that the problems of the delinquent child are the problems of all children, and that his social needs—the need for security in his home life, in the affection of his parents and companions, and the need for recognition, experimentation, new experience, and achievement—are as real as his physical needs for food and warmth."¹ Technological advances have speeded up our lives and added infinitely to their complexity; the problems of the child are

¹ *Facts About Juvenile Delinquency, Its Prevention and Treatment*, United States Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Publication No. 215, 1933, page 2

proportionately more difficult than those which faced a child a generation ago. If delinquency, then, is not increasing, it is a fine testimonial to the work of the agencies set up to combat it.

States and cities endeavor to cope with juvenile delinquency when the courts have passed sentence, by means of twenty-four-hour-a-day parental schools and special day schools for truants and incorrigibles, and by returning paroled offenders to the regular schools under the follow-up of parole officers or social workers. In more progressive states and cities there are special classes, behavior clinics, and vocational training opportunities whereby less serious offenders may be reclaimed for social adequacy, so far as possible.

Juvenile delinquency is not often brought to the attention of courts in the cases of children under thirteen years of age. The commitments of children between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one increase with startling rapidity, however. The problem of dealing with those youths who have already entered upon or who are likely to enter upon a career of law-breaking becomes a serious one for the secondary school.

Environmental factors in delinquency

The sociologists are united in condemning the slum areas of our large cities as incubators for hatching the most aggressively criminal element the officers of the law must face. One of the studies that substantiates this view was that made by a committee of criminologists appointed by Langdon W. Post, chairman of the New York City Housing Authority. The report of the committee as reviewed by Dr. Frederic M. Thrasher indicates that the slum sections of New York City are focal points for the propagation, training, and development of juvenile delinquents and criminals.

Not infrequently the slum inspires in the individual a sense of social inferiority. His involuntary compensation results in attitudes of bravado to force social recognition, and, in the end, we have the pathetic picture of the anemic youth, already a burden to the com-

munity by virtue of his early delinquency, turning up with a smoking gun in his hand, and finally sitting in the electric chair with bitterness in his heart and bleak wonder in his mind.

That is the normal process which seethes in the slums of any large city. The facts just discovered about New York compare quite proportionately with those previously discovered about Minneapolis, and St Paul, Philadelphia, Seattle, Cleveland, Birmingham, Denver, Richmond and a great many other large American cities.²

There are many persons who are confused on the causal relations involved. The slums are not made wretched places because vicious people live there; rather, people are made vicious because the slums are wretched places in which to live. Still, it will not solve the problem to demolish tenements. It is a better standard of living all around that is indicated.

Factors that predispose toward delinquency

It is not possible to select potential delinquents merely on the basis of traits, since there are so many variants. In many cases it is the very characteristics of vigor, initiative, leadership, and enthusiastic responses to life's instinctive urge that lead to excesses that result in arrests. Among girls, sex delinquency is generally associated with early physical development. On the other hand, habitual offenders are often sickly and physically defective.³

Unfavorable conditions of home and neighborhood may account for such physical defects, however. Certainly, delinquents and nondelinquents of the same socio-economic status differ very little in the prevalence of physical defects.⁴

The "general intelligence" of delinquent adolescents averages

² "City Slums Are Shown as Breeders of Crime," the *New York Times*, 1934

³ William Healy and A G Bronner, *Delinquents and Criminals Their Making and Unmaking*, Chapter 14 New York. The Macmillan Company, 1926

Julia Matthews, "A Survey of 341 Delinquent Girls in California," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol 8, pages 196-231

Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* New York D Appleton-Century, Inc , 1925, page 238

⁴ Fowler Brooks, *Psychology of Adolescence* New York Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, page 403

very little if any lower than that of the general population, indeed seventy-five per cent of them have I.Q.'s above 80, which Symonds concludes is the average intelligence of the entire population.

Weighing the evidence offered to show that delinquency is a disease that infects most of its victims in slum areas, it is important to recall that there are rural slums as well as urban ones. Allowing for the numerical differences in population, the farm and the village have their share of errant boys and girls, and the psychological causes that contribute to their waywardness are fundamentally the same ones that promote delinquency in the cities. Being born and raised in a log cabin is no certain guarantee of social virtue; the farmstead as well as the tenement contribute the misguided (or unguided) young men and women whose pictures are on file in the rogues' gallery.

It would seem, therefore, that potential delinquents are to be sought (1) from among those whose home and neighborhood life are characterized, paradoxically, by very loose or by very strict controls, (2) from those whose love of adventure and excitement, violent temper, egocentrism, revengefulness, oversensitiveness, and disrespect for authority appear to be excessive, and (3) from those whose present behaviors in school and outside of school are at present of quasi-criminal character, especially those who steal, who are frequently truant, and who are sexually forward. The teacher-adviser with some insight may recognize those students who are likely to become delinquents unless conditions are remedied so that they may adjust themselves positively to their homes and communities as well as their schools.

Most juvenile delinquents have been school failures and frequent truants. This statement gives no assurance that if they had been "passed" in their school subjects or had been compelled to attend school regularly they would not have become delinquent, though a plausible argument might be elaborated in favor of such an assumption. It means, rather, that the traits and out-of-school conditions that later made for

delinquency were earlier making for school failures and truancies.

The incubation period for delinquency spreads out over several years; our young gangsters and their molls are the full flower of seeds planted when these youngsters were in rompers. *There is no single cause of delinquency.* But the many contributing causes are effective because some early flaw in the character and personality of the child made him receptive to bad influences rather than good ones.

Moving pictures are blamed for despoiling our students, but they are no real menace to students who are strongly predisposed to be good, to behave in socially approved ways. They are no menace to students of sympathetic, understanding parents, living in comfortable, adequate homes, students provided in school with dynamic social motives and ample opportunity to express these, students whose neighborhood provides a variety of supervised activities for the worthy use of leisure.

Our best plan, strategically, would never call for rigid control of the youth's leisure time. Youths naturally resent the organization of their recreation (play) by outsiders. The uplift motive of which we are frequently guilty makes no allowance for the natural right of every individual to "waste" a fair amount of his time. The basic strategy of control is not to deal with the individual but to create a network of community influences and forces which may enrich life for both youths and adults and offer permanent satisfactions to compete effectively with the pernicious attractions of the street.

In the opinion of Howard A. Lane, formerly consultant to the Crime Prevention Bureau of the Detroit Police Department, every delinquent represents the failure of family, neighborhood, and school. "A human being is a product of the life he has led. The amount of disorder and degradation among human beings is the measure of the extent to which their needs are not being met. Delinquency is a social phenomenon, the result of social disintegration, of lack of community concern. . . ."⁵

⁵ "What a Child Needs" *Michigan Education Journal*, October, 1915.

Lane states that a child so far gone as to come to the attention of the police for violation of law has been failed long before "Many times he has asked for the bread of interest and understanding and has received the stones of rejection and neglect." The schools that are aware of their responsibilities and are willing to improve their practices so as to become effective in remedying some of the manifestations of human deprivation will:

1. Assume responsibility for the adjustment and happiness of each child. The adjustment of the school to the child will be the goal, not the adjustment of the child to the school.
2. Know the child as a unique personality. This does not mean increased clinical facilities. It means an increase in free, continuous contact between teachers and pupils, the pupils and teachers being sufficiently free from imposed procedures and standardized outcomes that the children may reveal their real dispositions, motives, and attitudes.
3. Increase in respect for the values and immediate purposes of children.
4. Provide facilities and appropriate atmospheres for genuine, concrete experiences for children in which they may find the satisfaction of attaining immediately significant results.
5. Provide for complete use of school facilities as long as they may meet any otherwise unsatisfied need of anyone in the community.
6. Assume the professional educational leadership of the community. What other "profession" says, "We can't use our best knowledge because our patrons won't let us"?
7. Exercise increased civic responsibility and influence in the interests of children. Teachers know when their children lack play space, adequate health care, appropriate provision for their safety. Teachers must keep the community constantly informed on the condition of its children and insist that needed provisions be supplied.
8. Grow rapidly toward being the community's cultural center for children, a place and an arrangement through which a community provides for its children's needs. A wise observer has recently stated that we shall make no progress in eradicating delinquency until a community is much ashamed of having "bad" children as we expect a family to be.

The responsibilities of the school were more fully stated in the report made by Kvaraceus. During the period when he was Assistant Superintendent of Schools and Director of the Children's Bureau in Passaic, New Jersey, Dr. Kvaraceus conducted an extensive research project described in *Juvenile Delinquency and the School*.⁶ The research included a study of causes of delinquency, methods of preventing delinquency, and the share that the school may play in the community program for controlling delinquency. In the Passaic Plan the school was the central agency for the prevention of delinquency, and within the school the teacher had the most important role. It is the teacher who must decide when a child needs special help. Great damage can be done, Kvaraceus has stated, by waiting too long to obtain specialized diagnosis of the causes underlying children's unhappiness and malfunctioning.

The Passaic study and many others directed toward a similar purpose provide ample evidence concerning the causes of delinquency and the methods for its prevention. The statistical reports are enlightening, but for those of us who believe that "guidance is people" there is even greater challenge in the human element to be found in the detailed case studies. "Cappy" is only a statistic until you read the case record of an unhappy girl of 15 who wanted to support herself so that she could escape from a wretched, quarrelsome, brutal family. Because she was lacking in knowledge, gumption, and moral scruples, she was very soon victimized by some young gangsters who set her and another girl up in commercialized prostitution. The girl was, by unfortunate circumstances, rescued by authorities, hospitalized for the cure of venereal infection, and socially rehabilitated. But the "happy ending" does not in any way mitigate the blame that must be shared by all the community agencies that represent the collective conscience of Cappy's neighbors.

The Passaic study revealed clearly that the schools are often a contributing factor among the causes for delinquency. Delinquents, more than half of whom had come from Grades

⁶ William C. Kvaraceus, *Juvenile Delinquency and the School* Yonkers-on-Hudson World Book Company, 1945, 337 pages

6-10 inclusive, had almost without exception received very "low" marks. Scholastic failure or near-failure significantly marked juvenile offenders from the rest of the school population. Almost all delinquents repeat one or more grades, many repeat several grades, and girls who are delinquent are found to have repeated more grades than boys who are delinquent. The lack of school success appears to produce a lack of incentive, which leads to truancy: a third of the delinquents were known to have been truant prior to their referral for some misdemeanor, and two thirds of the delinquents expressed a marked dislike for school in general or for some person connected with the school program. The delinquent group represented families that had moved frequently, so the youths had transferred frequently from one school to another. The junior high school grades are the getting-off-place for most delinquents as the attendance laws do not require attendance after the age of 16.

In general, the school picture of the delinquent presents an unsatisfactory, unsuccessful, unhappy, and hence extremely frustrating situation which precedes or accompanies undesirable behavior. The delinquent group was found to differ significantly from the general school population in many of the factors studied. . . . The school's responsibility for desirable and undesirable conduct is great. It must be recognized and met in a planned program.⁷

In the Passaic Plan it was assumed that the greatest service the school can render is in the early recognition of signs suggestive of the delinquent pattern. Students who manifest such signs would be promptly referred to the Children's Bureau, the central office where the coördination of all phases of the plan is accomplished. The emphasis was predominantly on prevention, and this emphasis enhances very much the importance of the teacher in the general plan.

There are some students whose out-of-school life is filled with serious problems and whose school life is not quite a

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156

succession of academic triumphs, yet some of these students develop a vigorous and aggressive way of compensating for their handicaps without being antisocial or demonstrating any disposition toward delinquency. But there are other students whose adjustment to aggravating conditions takes the form of behavior that would lead straight down the path to criminality. "These are the children who do not belong to any supervised social or recreational groups, who belong to bothersome gangs, who play truant, lie, cheat, destroy property, hit other children, and fail in their schoolwork, or who turn their aggression inwardly upon themselves and become sullen, seclusive, and unhappy"⁸

The school, when its faculty members are alert to the many ways in which they may control situations so as to engineer for these disadvantaged students some opportunities for certain success, recognition, and approval, can save some of the pre-delinquents before they get clear off the beam. If delinquency begins to bud around the age of ten, it is obvious that the secondary schools and the elementary schools must have a common purpose and a well defined procedure that is coordinated with those of other agencies "For continued successful operations, delinquency-control projects require leadership by an officially recognized agency having the highest possible standing in the community as the advocate and mentor of all children. This may be one agency in one community, a different one in another, or a different agency at a different time in the same community. There is, however, one agency which has the capacity for stirring the community toward dealing effectively with delinquency problems which operates at all times and in all communities That agency is the school system"⁹

The late Nathan Peyer, out of his rich experience as a progressive principal and community leader in Brooklyn, expressed as follows his concept of the function of the school in preventing delinquency by a constructive program:

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 244

Most criminals have been school failures. Failure stands out strongly in the lives of the maladjusted. We must protect our children by diagnosing their needs more efficiently; by classifying them properly, by adjusting curricula, class organization, and methods of teaching to their particular needs, interests, and abilities, by enlisting their interests, and by individualizing instruction. In each case, we must discover activities in which the child can be successful. We must treat each pupil on his own level, starting from where he is and leading him upward by suitable stages along the road of successful achievement. Success engenders interest and confidence, and leads to further success. Failure begets loss of interest, inferiority feeling, further failure, and ultimately escape or compensation in forms individually objectionable and socially undesirable.

... The school is the only agency of society that comes into contact with all of the children, it has the confidence of all persons, it can secure the cooperation of all agencies, public and private; it reaches into all homes through its most emotionalized factor, the child. It can become the most potent force, not only for the teaching of subject matter, but, next to the home, for the conservation of the integrity of childhood and the protection of society.²⁰

Cooperation of all agencies

The most ambitious school could not prevent delinquency through the contacts it has with children in one hundred eighty school days out of the calendar year of three hundred sixty-five, school days of five hours out of sixteen waking hours. The school must fight a losing fight except as it supports and is supported by the other community agencies that reach children, or can reach children during the great number of out-of-school hours.

Boys' and girls' clubs, settlements, park and police departments, playground and recreational organizations, clinics, juvenile courts, social service organizations, housing commissions, and the rest all taken together clearly have more direct control of the environment of youths than the day school can have. These agencies, and others that will be created, could work with the schools to wipe out delinquency.

²⁰ The Public Schools and the Problem of Crime Prevention. *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. VI, No. 3 (November, 1932), pages 131-138.

The teacher-adviser who would endeavor to forestall the unhappiness and human waste entailed in delinquency should appreciate first of all that he is not dealing with a markedly different kind of boy or girl from those he would find among youths who are not potential delinquents. "There but for the grace of God stand I!" takes on more incisive significance to the teacher who has watched the development of boys and girls equally prepossessing in appearance, from backgrounds comparable in biological advantages, and in all important respects representing the same general limitations in social environments, some of whom have become splendid citizens and others delinquents and criminals.

The adviser who seeks to help each student achieve and retain self-respect and confidence in his school and home and community relations is setting the general condition that is most necessary in the prevention of potential delinquency from becoming actual delinquency. By watching carefully the attitudes of his charges for evidences of increasingly frequent sullenness and audacious defiance of authority, he may be able to coordinate the efforts of visiting teachers, administrators, parents, and police in a tactful but persistent study and treatment of the students' needs.

Of the many social institutions whose ministries for youth overlap, the one closest to the school in its present aims and methods is the juvenile court. As the matter now stands, especially in large centers of population, the ultimate effectiveness of either the school or the juvenile court must depend upon how skillfully they can be coöordinated.

The juvenile court

It is amazing that teachers and school administrators are largely ignorant of the progress made by the juvenile courts and their affiliated agencies in handling juvenile delinquency. It is due partly, perhaps, to the popular notion that delinquency and juvenile courts are both aspects of urban life. Most teachers are working in small towns. They think of delinquency as some invention of social workers. They consider the juvenile

court movement of no more than academic interest for them. But the records show clearly that the small towns contribute their share of erring and errant boys and girls. Perhaps the problem is simplified somewhat for the educator in the small town, for the "bad" boys and girls are very likely, when they burst their bonds, to go off to the big city. Sin, even in its mildest forms, is somehow less glamorous on Main Street than in the alleys or on the avenues of the metropolis. Once they have left town to practice their favorite iniquities in the city, the city agencies are responsible for them.

"First, catch your rabbit" Thus began the old recipe for making a rabbit potpie. For many years the courts were satisfied to employ as their first step an analogous beginning, with them it was, First catch your delinquent. They were not hard to catch, there were so many of them, and more and more all the time.

But delinquency, by the rational definition now applied, does not wait for a court. The youth is a delinquent when he violates the law, whether he is apprehended or not. It is no longer possible to think of delinquency as made by the courts. The wayward youngster does not become a delinquent when his name is written on a police docket. His delinquency is a fact by that time. The small-town runaway who is booked by the city police owes his delinquency to the faults of the community where he failed to acquire approved social habits. It is obvious, then, that delinquency is not a phenomenon peculiar to the cities that maintain juvenile courts. It is the evidence of bad social engineering in country districts, in crossroads towns, and in county seats as well as in New York and Denver and Los Angeles.

The classroom teacher, as a part of his preparation, should be familiar with the juvenile court movement not only because of the opportunities the school may have to aid in the rehabilitation of some delinquent youth, but because the public schools, at large would be much more valuable agencies for social progress if the best principles observed by the best juvenile court agents were practiced by teachers and principals.

Doctors of public welfare

There is nothing in the history of social engineering more encouraging than the celerity with which juvenile court agents and social workers developed a "code of fair practice" for use in handling delinquents. They went further. They investigated the causes of delinquency, and they have developed techniques which, if they were applied generally, would prove as effective against the microbes that cause crime as the medical profession's techniques have proved against those which cause malaria.

The "crime prevention" movement is old enough to have a distinguished record. It is handicapped somewhat by the negative character of the phrase. Its purpose is not merely to prevent crimes, or to prevent youths from being criminals. It has a constructive purpose that is hard to catch in a phrase. It is expressed well enough by *education*, if that word is not taken to mean schooling, textbooks, examinations, and the three "R's." The juvenile courts and allied agencies are engaged in a campaign in some cities which is preventive in the same way that the work of the public health service is preventive. Just as there are many physicians now turning from the business of curing the sick to the more constructive work of keeping the community healthy, so there is some progress toward keeping the community, and all the individuals who are its members, socially integrated. The doctors of public health and the doctors of public welfare will both depend on education as the effective means to accomplish their purposes.

A large number of these doctors of public welfare must be recruited from among the members of the teaching profession. The traditions of the legal profession are hide-bound, inflexible. Many lawyers and judges revere the law and its abstractions more than they love youth or believe in a telic society. The difference between a lawyer and a teacher is the difference between the Mosaic code and the Golden Rule. The ten commandments are rules, regulations, prescribed to set narrow bounds for human conduct. The Christian rule of life is the

essence of sympathy, tolerance, humility, and humanity. The juvenile courts, in their actual practice, are unquestionably compromised by the legalistic attitudes of some officials. But if the teachers and principals performed their work as effectively as they might, there would be less need for concern about the attitude of officials, for there would be fewer delinquents and fewer cases in court.

This is not meant to oversimplify the problems of juvenile delinquency. They are so many and so complex that it takes a strong heart to endure a reading of them all when we list them. Familiarity with even a few actual cases may fill one with a conviction that some youngsters are incurably perverse and wholly untractable, no matter how sympathetically they are handled. It appears, sometimes, that youths who are wayward work at it so much more energetically and persistently than others, who are everything they ought to be, work at doing what they ought to do. If there were just some way to tame them or slow them down! In utter desperation we may think of the possible uses of surgery—some delicate adjustment of this gland or that under the scalpel, and Joe would learn to behave himself, would he not? But these desperate cases are solved sometimes without any operation, and most of the potentially malignant cases are only routine problems when they are discovered in the gymnasium or the kindergarten, the patient being unaware then that anything is wrong with him. An apple a day keeps the doctor away, and a few small victories of a social kind have a miraculous effect on the potential delinquent.

Opportunities and limitations of disciplinary classes and schools

It is unusual nowadays to find school boards or their executive officers who appraise teaching candidates in terms of their physical ability and courage to "lick the kids." Nevertheless, such a criterion has been a most important one in the past and it has not entirely disappeared at this day.

In the modern school, however, the regimen and diverse

educational program are such that, supplementing as they do a more docile and regimented population and the recession of the frontier virtues of physical aggressiveness, infractions of school discipline have become very unusual and of minor importance. Only in the cases of youths of distorted personalities and those from very unwholesome home and neighborhood environments is discipline an important school problem. Minor infractions of school rules, whispering, noisiness, ungentlemanly behavior, truancy, and even stealing from lockers, do frequently occur. But such infractions are most frequently reactions against boredom of the too smoothly running humdrum school. Even stealing is often undertaken not for the goods so obtained but as an answer to a challenge implied in a locked locker.

In the cases of the unfortunate youths who are so socially maladjusted to social regimen as to become disciplinary cases, the modern school system usually either sets up special disciplinary classes within the schools or establishes special schools which these students attend. The guidance problems involved are of such a nature as to require in their solution the greatest possible science and art, or wisdom and tact.

Only in the boldest of secondary schools is the intermediate stage of a disciplinary class within the school organization attempted. It seems probable, however, that compulsory school attendance laws are now sending into the secondary school such large numbers of youths with unfortunate biological and social inheritances that many urban secondary schools will be obliged to organize such classes, just as many elementary schools have done. They will not be justified in expelling and so causing the commitment of the thousands of "bad" boys and girls whose predecessors have not been tolerated in the school.

The general problem of guidance of disciplinary cases or of delinquent youths, whether in special classes or in special schools, requires boldness and drama for its solution. These classes or schools enroll only pupils with whom ordinary teachers and ordinary school methods and material have failed. The teachers of disciplinary classes deal with groups one hun-

dred per cent of whom have made abnormal adjustments to the kind of institutional and social codes that the school upholds, though their adjustments may conform to those of the homes, neighborhoods, or gangs with which they are associated during their out-of-school hours. In many cases, however, there are psychopathic twists that have predisposed them to the acceptance of socially false values; among them are the introverts, introspective, timid, and seclusive, who have perhaps overcompensated for their fears by bold fronts and spectacular feats and by initiating cunning enterprises, and the extroverts, bold, blustering, paranoic, defiant. The segregation of such youths has all the dangers and all of the advantages of mutual associations, interdependence, and shared responsibility for the accomplishment of group purposes.

It is obvious that the teacher must be a partner in as many group projects as possible; else, the ingenuity, the gang attitude, and the mass energy will frequently turn against him. It behooves him to help initiate projects in which the more energetic pupils can be led to join; he can thus subordinate his role as low enforcer for the gang to obey or to outwit and defeat, and so he can largely remove a major challenge for disciplinary outbreaks. To succeed in this subtle change of apparent roles (for in fact the teacher must remain the law enforcer, however much this function is covered up), he must understand the mental-emotional background of the youths of whom he has charge.

Happy is the teacher who has had similar yearnings and codes in his own youth and who remembers them, for he can live again vicariously the codes and adventures of his pupils. "Paradoxical as it may sound," says Lass, "the teacher of the 'bad boy' must himself be a 'bad boy' at heart. He must be one who has never grown up, who keeps fresh his boyish peccadillos, who keeps alive within himself a spark of the wildness of youth. He must remember vividly, as if it were yesterday, his first cigar, his first pair of 'longies,' his first 'date.' He must never forget the first window he broke, the first policeman whose prehensile claws he eluded, the first 'scrap' he had.

The high adventure, the reckless aimlessness, the mystery of woman, the spacious yearnings to experience the universe: all these must be a living, breathing part of him. For it is this core of eternal youth in him that subtly and surely attracts and holds the boy who is repelled by anything else”¹¹

Much may be done by selecting more adaptable curriculum materials, but such adaptations require vastly more adventure and frequent success and pupil-teacher partnership than the adaptation of the docile “well-behaved youths.” Temporarily, at any rate, standards of achievement must be left with the class to decide informally “The academic interests of the ‘bad boy,’ ” says Lass, “are not keen enough to evidence a knowledge *per se*. He must have his learning galvanized through the personality of the teacher”¹² That personality must be so tolerant and understanding that it recognizes the place of animal spirits and “horse play,” the basis of the youths’ worship of physical power and material success and power with an absence of chivalrous standards regarding their uses, and the background of their contempt for law and order, their restiveness in the orderliness of school routine. The teacher with such a personality knows intuitively that these youths cannot be approached on too high an ethical plane, that meticulous watchfulness, while often necessary, must be so subtle as not to be suspected by them. He will employ stories of adventure and daring, socialized recitations, self-government, orchestras, class newspapers, and all other projects that give to the students individually and collectively a feeling of power. He will be rewarded for his sincerity, sportsmanship, square shooting, and readiness to “give them a break” by their acceptance of him into membership in the class “gang.” When they have sized him up, tried him out, and found him genuine, they will give him then almost blind loyalty

In most regards this bold pedagogy has an equally impor-

¹¹ A. H. Lass, “The ‘Bad Boy’ and His Teacher,” *High Points in the Work of the High Schools of New York City*, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (March, 1935). Reprinted from National Education Association Journal

¹² *Ibid.*, page 9

tant place for teachers of youths who are not yet and perhaps never will be actually delinquent, for the traits of disciplinary students have counterparts in a large fraction of the less openly maladjusted youths. They too seek personal friendship and guidance, they too want understanding and encouragement to attempt positive and meaningful achievement; they too are largely unliterate in interest and practices because they live in an unliterate world.

The school and the class for delinquent youths must, therefore, be so organized and administered and supervised as to reinforce the teacher who helps his students individually and collectively to set up objectives that are dynamic, reasonable, and worth while. Such a school would support the teacher's efforts to help his class and his individual students to attain their objectives and would open its own avenues to honor and recognition and power for the pupils who he believes are ready to take advantage of them.¹

The cost of prevention

Donald Du Shane, Executive Secretary of the National Education Association Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, reporting on the findings of a national conference, stated that the schools of this country could reduce the delinquency rate seventy per cent if adequately staffed, equipped, and coordinated with other community agencies.

... Delinquent children are not marked by innate perverseness. There are definite causes and reasons for their behavior. Delinquent conduct is usually the result of an attempt by the child to satisfy his desire for success or group approval. If he cannot achieve

¹ George C. Minard, "The Truant Goes to School and Likes It," *Beaver Times*, Vol. XVI, No. 23 (March 1, 1935).

George C. Minard, Christine K. Swanson, et al., *The Children's Village Test*, New York: The Children's Village, 1929.

J. W. Withers, et al., *Excerpts from the Institutional Survey of the Children's Village*, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1929.

George E. Hill, "Education and the Delinquent Boy," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. XV, No. 5 (February, 1933).

such desires through socially approved conduct, he will seek satisfaction from activities disapproved or illegal.¹⁴

Fortunately, the symptoms of maladjustment can be detected years before there is any misconduct of a character that would bring a youth into serious conflict with society. Individual study and treatment must be assured for every student whose conduct or attitude indicates predelinquency. Teacher and principal, if alert to the importance of this service and trained to carry it out effectively, will make early identification of predelinquents. This identification will call for special attention to students who are truant, dishonest, and destructive, and to those who are secretive, antagonistic, or interested in undesirable outside gangs or activities.

.... It is necessary that the school understand the vast range of individual differences among students and provide all children—particularly those with mental, physical, or social handicaps—with work that will enable them to have a measure of success and satisfaction out of the school program. School failure produces a feeling of insecurity and dislike for school which frequently contributes directly to misconduct outside the school

Dr Du Shane points out that many schools do not realize that their failure to give each child a sense of success, provide him activities which satisfy his needs, give him an opportunity for leadership and for companionship, may contribute to the development of attitudes and habits that ultimately result in delinquent or criminal behavior. To provide an adequate program for the prevention of delinquency will increase school costs. But the increase in cost would be only a small part of the cost of crime, of police protection, of court trials, and of jails, reformatories, and penitentiaries. The actual saving in money that would eventually accrue would be less important than the conservation of youths for productive citizenship and wholesome living

¹⁴ "The Schools and Juvenile Delinquency," *NEA Journal*, Vol 36, No 2 (February, 1947), p 100

In conclusion it seems fair to say that the schools are doing a better job, by and large, than they were ten years ago. The best the schools can do will still leave a large share of the burden for other social agencies. The disintegration of the family is sometimes mentioned as a principal cause of delinquency, and from this we in the schools might take our cue for a long-range program: If we could manage to teach sound principles of child development to a generation of high school students—this would have to be nation-wide, of course—then we might sit back and watch to see how much more effectively this generation of students would perform when they had attained the responsibilities of parents. It is an idea that one puts aside as Utopian, yet in solid truth it is only a part of the whole wonderful and crazy notion we have that through education we can lift ourselves by our own intellectual boot-straps!

The Guidance Possibilities and Limitations of Special-Type Schools

Of all adolescents enrolled in secondary schools the great preponderance are in general high schools. These schools commonly offer diversified curricula, but they are largely pre-vocational in the nature and scope of subjects taught. The other high schools (vocational high schools, technical high schools, and the several types of schools that provide for students who have withdrawn from the full-time schools in order to work at part-time or full-time positions) have problems of considerable interest to anyone engaged in a special study of the principles of guidance. In the following pages we shall consider the guidance possibilities and limitations of vocational, technical, cooperative and evening schools for students of secondary grade, concluding with some observations on the place of guidance in summer schools and camps.

Guidance problems of full-time vocational schools

Private and public full-time trade schools were established in the larger American cities during the first decade of this century. The private schools were afforded some state aid, and in the second decade the Smith-Hughes Law assured generous federal subsidies for the public high schools that qualified. Full-time specialized public trade schools have not been developed extensively, however, though there has been some advance made in a relatively few trades involving high degrees of specialized skill, such as printing and hotel service. In spite of our great industrial progress, vocational schools train-

ing machinists, plumbers, draughtsmen, linotype operators, designers, painters, electricians, needlecraft workers, and the like have continued to operate but have served very small numbers of youths.

The constant pressure of oversupply of trained workers in the organized trades has made the workers very cautious in their support of vocational schools. Since the vocational schools have depended very largely for their public and legislative support on the forces of organized labor, the schools have been obliged to convince the labor leaders and the rank and file of union members that vocational schools would not be used to supply competitors who would accept less than the established wage rates.

The danger that they might do so has been made more real year by year because of the displacement of skilled workers by machine operators in many lines of industry. Indeed, in typical larger manufacturing plants, almost eighty per cent of the workers in production of goods are semiskilled and unskilled workers and apprentices,¹ seventeen per cent are skilled workers, three per cent, foremen and one per cent, superintendents and department heads. Indeed there are over one third as many office workers and salesmen in these manufacturing plants as there are skilled workers.

The demand for intelligence and responsibility on the part of the individual skilled worker increases as the relative number of such workers decreases, thereby widening the breach between the great masses of industrial workers and the machinists, toolmakers, patternmakers, and the rest. These skilled workers tend more and more to prepare the work and tools for the machine tenders, to repair these tools, and to finish off the product and test it. They form an aristocracy of labor, their employment is more stable, their wages more nearly adequate, and their sense of responsibility higher than those of other production workers.

The unskilled production worker is typically a rover. "He

¹ See W. H. Steid, "Personnel Survey of Twenty Twin City Manufacturing Plants, 1925," *Data and its Occupation*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (June 1926), pp. 27-81.

works on so many different kinds of materials and with such a variety of machines during his work history that, as Dr. Prosser says, "There is no carry-over from training in auto repair to operating a bottling machine."² Even "the semiskilled worker—may work in cast iron this year but his next job may be working with pie crust dough on a wholly different line of machines"²

It seems probable therefore that all-day vocational schools will continue to limit their work to the preparation of older boys and girls for jobs as apprentices or helpers in the skilled trades, both seasonal and steady, and for job-improvement training of adults. In many of the trades there will remain permanently, so far as one can now see, jobs that require both the specialized uses of machines and the initiative and self-reliance of an intelligent operator. In the automobile vocations, the mechanic and the ignition expert can scarcely be replaced by machines or by standardized technology. Similarly, in aviation, the pilot and mechanic; in electricity, the station operator, "trouble shooter," lineman, and house wirer; in the metal trades, the foundryman, patternmaker, structural ironworker, sheet-metal worker, and machinist; in pharmacy, the drug clerk; in plumbing and steamfitting, the installer and repairman; in printing, the linotyper, monotype, lithographer, and photoengraver; in radio and telegraphy, the operator; and in woodworking, the carpenter, cabinetmaker, and designer will not readily be replaced, however much technology may furnish better tools and semifinished products

In agriculture and in business occupations, the personal traits of the workers—initiative, originality, self-reliance, perseverance, honesty, and responsibility—are so important that mechanical invention can never entirely replace them, though it is rapidly modifying their job functions and decreasing the importance of purely technical skills and knowledges.

It may well be that the relative numbers of skilled workers may become so restricted that preparation for admission will

² Charles A. Koepke, "Reply to Dr. Prosser," *Occupations*, Vol. 13, No. 9 (June, 1935).



“Mrs. Angell, teacher and “star student” in the Coopkhaliive Schools
THEORY WEEKS PRACTICE IN THE COOPKHALIVE SCHOOLS

be further postponed, either through age-grade requirements for vocational schools or by minimum-age requirements for admission to the factory or office set up by the trade, by industry, or by the state itself. So far has this tendency already progressed that guidance in vocational schools is coming to be considered adult guidance rather than adolescent guidance.

The number of candidates for admission to trade schools is generally far greater than the capacity of the schools or the number of jobs available for graduates justifies the school in admitting. Students who enter full-time vocational schools are, therefore, generally a select lot, though sometimes the bases of selection may be unintelligent or undesirable. Recommendations from trade-union leaders, politicians, and former teachers are often given consideration. Academic standing, "general" intelligence, and occasionally aptitude and competence tests are used, physical examinations are customary.

The first choice of vocation is generally left to the student, provided, of course, that he has the potentialities of success. His admission to the school ordinarily is based on his ability to satisfy the admittance officer that he is a good risk in the special job curriculum that he desires to enter. Despite the Draconian elimination before admission, the elimination of students in vocational schools is very great.

The head of the job curriculum in which the student enrolls becomes automatically his immediate guidance officer or sponsor. This teacher is presumably familiar not only with the technical and personal requirements of the jobs for which training is being given but also with employment and labor conditions within the occupation. His function as guide requires him to know the students enrolled in his curriculum, their technical progress, and their character traits.

If his department is large, he may, of course, decentralize the guidance function among his assistants, but he will recognize that its direction and supervision remain major functions of his own. The most obvious approach to such guidance is through the vocational or life career motive. Surely, in the vocational school if anywhere, students can be led to set up both

immediate and more remote objectives that are dynamic, reasonable of attainment, and worth while, and be helped to attain these objectives. To complete a job satisfactorily and to gain a high degree of technical skill are immediate objectives that are made realistic and vitalized by their connection with the student's vocational future and perhaps with his immediate earning power as a part-time worker. Quite as potent a motive, however, is the growing feeling of competence and self-respect that comes to him as he is led to triumph after triumph as he progresses through his work.

A member of the departmental staff should meet the students of the department once a week or oftener for group guidance. Such meetings should deal with problems of personal and social relations, job wisdom, and occupational problems, and a study of related occupations and educational opportunities. It should involve lectures, moving pictures, trips to plants and to libraries, and an exchange of experiences of vocational or personal character by the members of the group. In this group guidance, success depends very largely on the confidence and friendliness that the teachers can inspire.

Such dynamic guidance as is involved in these educational procedures should be supplemented and supported by the personnel work of the regular guidance staff of the school, if there is one; otherwise, by the administrative officers. There should be available records showing the educational equipment of each individual, as objective as possible; an inventory of his mental, physical, and social equipment, a record of all vocational and achievement tests that he has taken; a cumulative record of his previous school career including not only his scholastic achievements but also his interests, tryouts, electives of subjects, changes of curricula, participation in student activities and in extra-school activities, part-time or full-time employments; and evidences of special technical, social, and intellectual abilities and disabilities, and evidences of emotional adjustments or maladjustments, and his personal and family history.

As a check upon the departmental guidance discussed above, the school's personnel officer should interview each student at

least once a term. A student who is making inadequate progress should be brought into a conference, together with his parents and his faculty sponsor. If his maladjustment involves his part-time employment, it may be well to call the conference at a time and place when a representative of his employer may be present, too.

Allen lists the following nine occasions which call for such interviews apart from the routine check-ups:

- 1 When the student enters or leaves school;
- 2 For recording information concerning his history and present status;
3. When he makes his choice of a special job-curriculum,
- 4 When and if he enters upon part-time employment,
5. When he takes up, or avoids taking up, supplementary educational opportunities;
- 6 When and if problems of personal or social adjustment arise;
- 7 When attendance, discipline, health, appearance, activities or vocational pursuits threaten to interfere with his success;
8. When he is a candidate for placement, either part-time while still in school or full-time following graduation or dropping out of school; and
9. As a follow-up measure after he has left school to assist by advice or intercession in making new adjustments or in finding more appropriate jobs.⁸

The radical changes now taking place in industry, agriculture, distribution, and service occupations are certain to be reflected in the character of trade school training and guidance practices. Assuming that there will be an orderly series of changes in our country—no perilous economic collapse, no drastic political upheaval—we may expect the vocational schools to parallel the changes that come about in the communities that maintain them. There will probably be a continuation of the movement away from craft-separatism. It was the craft-union

⁸ Richard D. Allen, *Organization and Supervision of Guidance in Public Education*, New York: Inor Publishing Company, 1934, pp. 33 *et seq.*

movement and the rise of the American Federation of Labor that influenced the early development of our trade schools, public and private. It seems likely then that the success of the industrial union movement, as represented by the CIO (and by John L. Lewis's "District 50") must have, sooner or later, a significant bearing on the vocational training program.

Unless we were to declare an indefinitely extended moratorium on technological invention and crystallize our vocational practice about our present organization, there is no way to recapture the vocational stability that was enjoyed a generation ago. Increasingly, then, vocational guidance becomes a matter of building into the individual student the degree of self-knowledge and self-assurance that will enable him to make vocational readjustments wisely as often as they are required by shifts in the pattern of industrial organization. Guidance for workers in an economy of abundance will assume, also, a larger interest in avocational pursuits than was indicated when the twelve-hour day left too small a margin for anything but grubbing. There is nowhere in education greater demand made upon the ingenuity of the professional personnel than in the guidance of youths who will do the world's work during the next generation. It is fortunate that the vocational schools at present employ many men and women equal to these demands, competent to do pioneer thinking.

*Opportunities and limitations of the
technical and cooperative school*

During the latter part of the nineteenth and during the first decades of the twentieth century many of the larger cities of the United States established technical high schools to supplement their general or academic secondary schools. These technical high schools were variously known as manual training or manual arts or practical arts or polytechnical or technical high schools. They had counterparts in the field of business education, generally known as commercial high schools.

While the aims of the founders of all such schools were the provision for nonacademic students and for vocational and pre-

vocational training, they have in most cases become general high schools with technical emphasis. A considerable share of their curriculum organization and guidance program is now directed toward college preparation, especially the preparation of students for colleges of engineering, fine arts, and commerce. The guidance problems of technical schools involved in such college preparation do not differ materially from those of general high schools, which have been discussed in Chapters One to Four of this volume. They will not, therefore, be treated in the present chapter.

In connection with technical schools, however, there continues some degree of effort to fulfill their original functions, those of meeting the needs of nonacademic youths through a curriculum involving concrete activities, and of offering pre-vocational and vocational training, especially for the more restricted vocations—laboratory technicians, draughtsmen, designers, secretaries, salesmen, and assistants to accountants. In the development of such applied educations, the technical schools approach in purpose and form the practices of vocational and cooperative schools. Insofar as they duplicate the practices of vocational schools, their guidance problems are sufficiently treated in the preceding pages. The cooperative departments of technical schools are grouped here with regular cooperative schools, since their guidance organizations and those of cooperative schools are similar.

Cooperative education has gained widespread adoption both in secondary schools and in colleges. It varies from the home-project agricultural curriculum of village and rural high schools to the specialized curricula of general high schools wherein selected commercial or technical students are permitted to carry on jobs related to their curriculum specialization either during the school year or during vacations.⁴

More strictly speaking, however, the term cooperative edu-

⁴ During periods of prolonged industrial and commercial unemployment the opportunities for part time employment are greatly decreased. Consequently, there are from time to time such restrictions on cooperative education that it is more or less suspended. Fortunately, its pattern and framework remain for extended application when jobs are more plentiful.

tion applies only to the alternation of school attendance and of employment under the actual working conditions of the vocation for which the students prepare. Under such conditions the student is deemed to be "in school" both during the periods of employment and during those of school attendance. Hence, the school, through "coordinators," maintains oversight and guidance responsibility for the students throughout the year.

The coordinator, as his name implies, is responsible for understanding the conditions that surround the student while he is on the job, for helping students to adjust themselves to the working conditions so as to obtain the maximum benefit, and for keeping the school officials and teachers constantly informed both regarding the progress of their students while away from school and concerning the attitudes of employers and prospective changes of policy and activities of the cooperating offices and plants. Moreover, he is charged with the duty of discerning new openings wherein the school officials may consider the advisability of placing students.

Obviously these responsibilities require that the coordinator spend much of his time away from the school building. He must meet the foremen and superintendents of the institutions in which students are employed or in which they might be employed. He must study both the technical demands on experienced workers and on the employed students. He must be very sensitive to the social, moral, and emotional conditions under which youths are employed. He must use judgment and tact in his efforts to help his charges make the best adjustments possible.

The guidance aspects of cooperative education are found both in the coordinator's conferences with the employed youths and their employers and in the relations that are developed and maintained between the teachers at school and the students during their periods of school attendance. In some cooperative schools all teachers are also coordinators, they are released from teaching for part of their time to visit the youths at work. In most schools, however, the resident staff receives its information concerning working conditions and adjustments either from

full-time or part-time coordinators or from the students themselves.

The center of the guidance problem in the coöperative school as in all other schools is the self-adjustment of youths. Adjustment to the job and to the social conditions involved in work in office or shop or store is, indeed, the major purpose of cooperative education. Hence the guidance function of coordinator, counselors, and teachers are to be found, first in the general self-adjustment of each youth to his school, home, and companions, and second, in the wise choice of a position for part-time work and in the student's attitudes toward that work and toward his superiors and his fellow workmen.

The opportunities and limitations of evening schools

In no unit of the public school system is there greater need of social and educational and vocational guidance than in the evening school. Evening school students often think that they know what they want to do. Frequently, however, they have not reached their conclusions by reflecting upon accurate and adequate information. The evening school counselor and teachers have the responsibility of helping them to reconsider their decisions both in the light of the actual facts and on the basis of further experiences with the evening school curriculum and in their social and other educational experiences within and outside of the school.

Evening school students have specific and immediately recognized needs for guidance. Some need help in their adjustments to their employers and fellow workers. Many are seeking answers to questions that come up in the day's work. Others are in economic difficulties and may be helped to budget their expenses. Most of them are conscious of handicaps of personality or lack of previous education or training.

Unfortunately, few evening schools have been given counseling staffs which are at all adequate for the wide variety of very important guidance problems that present themselves. An assistant principal or a designated teacher may adjust individual programs or permit schedule changes to be made, but it is

unusual to find an evening high school where the election of courses is effected with the careful supervision that would prevent the extravagant waste of time and effort resulting where the trial-and-error system of elections prevails.

As the need for adequate guidance in evening schools becomes clearly recognized, it may be expected that proper officers will be provided. It is most important, however, that the excellent work being done in many evening schools by magnanimous teachers should be made contagious through good supervision. The personal friendship for and kindly interest in the students on the part of many fine people on evening-school staffs are most inspiring.

More important even than exact information and special techniques at any level are such friendship and personal interest. These are the spiritual bases for helping the youths and adults who attend evening school to set up propulsive objectives for themselves. The confidence the adviser has in their ability is transmitted to them and is converted by a powerful magic into self-confidence.

Evening high-school enrollees include many youths who require a high-school diploma in order to receive some promotion, or to enter an advanced institution, or to take a civil-service examination. Others, frequently of foreign origin, have a blind faith in education as such and are seizing the opportunity to obtain tardily what has earlier been denied them by economic and social handicaps. Many are seeking technical skills for job improvement or promotions. Many girls and women seek to learn some part of the science of homemaking; a few are concerned with developing cultural or avocational interests. With so many and such diverse purposes represented in the evening schools, competent guidance is most necessary to assure a satisfactory degree of coördination between the desires of the students and the possibilities offered by the program of the school. Guidance is necessary not only through interviews, records, and research, but as a fundamental characteristic of the atmosphere throughout the school.

"From several evening schools in which counselors have been

employed," say Keller and Allen,⁷ "reports indicate increases in enrollment, improvement in attendance, and a decrease in pupil turnover. These are the most obvious and immediate results of guidance."

While adequate guidance programs for the evening high schools await much more careful and creative organization of these schools than has as yet been generally given them, it is evident that some conditions must continue to make the problem in these schools unique. Their strictly voluntary nature makes it impossible to give any sustained or long-continued guidance to the students at the time of entrance. They come to take a specific subject or subjects; to deny the student permission to take Latin or physics or stenography (if the school offers instruction in the subject desired) is merely to thwart him. Advice at this point is only suggestive, to be taken or rejected without fear of resentment.

More positive guidance awaits the progress or lack of it of the student in his classwork or in the institutional life of the school, slight though that life generally is. If, however, readjustments could be pursued to the end that every student was so situated that he could succeed, and *know* that with effort he would succeed, and if he could have concrete evidence of growing success, the basis of positive guidance would be laid. The present lack of adequate financial support for the evening high school, of adequate guidance staffs, and of a broad and generous curriculum leads to unnecessary failures, low and varied standards, and frequent disillusionment and disgust on the part of those who have enrolled and then dropped out because they felt that what they gained was not worth the effort.

Keller and Allen set forth a tentative list of guidance functions in the evening school, classified under the three headings that they have used elsewhere: personnel records and research, individual counseling, and orientation or group guidance.

- 1 *Personnel records and research*, or the study of individual differences and of the factors which condition success. These include:

⁷ R. D. Allen, *op. cit.*, page 251.

- a* Records from last school attended, if available.
- b* Objective measurements of educational assets and liabilities as a basis for counseling and planning
- c*. Measurement of general academic ability apart from school achievement by a group intelligence test
- d* Records of employment, with the advice of the employer, if possible, in regard to desirable skills that will aid adjustment and promotion in employment
- e*. A questionnaire concerning health, family, school interests, educational and vocational plans
- f* A guidance record sheet to include the records of interviews and all personal data

Counseling without such records is inevitably the crudest kind of guess work. Without objective data no two persons would advise alike. Such a system of records does not exist in most schools. The investment of the time of teachers and pupils and of the per capita expense of the evening schools would more than justify such a system of records; it should require it.

2. *Individual counseling*, including

- a* Interviews with pupils who seek the assistance of the adviser in regard to school adjustments, vocational adjustments, replacement, or personal problems
- b* An interview with each pupil at least once each year,
 - (1) With members of the graduating class concerning their future plans and the further possible adaptations of the school curriculum to meet their needs
 - (2) With other students concerning the planning of their courses for the next year. If electives are determined in advance, a pupil may be registered in the fall by mail. There should be no need of his appearing in person for enrollment, consuming time that can better be devoted to new students. A card should be sent him in a return envelope, which will contain a duplicate copy of his program. Return of the card should constitute registration and make possible his immediate assignment to classes on the first night that school opens. If he wishes to change electives, he may indicate his desire on the card. If necessary, an appointment can be arranged with his counselor.
 - (3) With each entering pupil. This should be by appointment made at the time of enrollment. Enrollment should

begin at least two weeks before the opening of school. When a pupil enrolls he should be given an appointment card with the time, place, and name of his counselor. Registration should not be complete until the personnel records are complete, and for this purpose, tests, examiners, correctors, and forms should be provided. When these records are complete, the counselor should help the pupil to select a program for the year and a tentative program for the next three or four years.

- c. Means of securing the cooperation of employers and parents. For the encouragement of the pupil, the counselor should then, with the pupil's consent, send a form letter to the employer notifying him to take note of the fact. He should also request suggestions concerning types of training which might be helpful to the pupil in his work in the future. Thus the employer becomes an ally and adviser. A similar procedure with parents of minors may be advisable.
- d. Frequent and continued investigation by counselors of cases of absence, cases of failure, and instances of leaving before graduation or before the completion of the course planned. To permit pupils to be absent, to fail, or to leave without careful investigation is a neglect of information that is essential if education is to be adapted to serve the needs of the pupils. Both true economy and real efficiency demand this provision.
- e. Research studies, carried on by the counselors, concerning the needs, interests, and desires of the students. Such studies should attempt, through a well-balanced selection of activities, to supplement the employment program of each individual so as to provide growth in service, preparation for the next job on the ladder, and healthful recreation through physical, social, and avocational activities

3. *Orientation, or group guidance.*

- a. A clear, concise, simple catalogue of the school should be prepared and distributed to students and applicants. It should state the purpose and content of the courses, the prerequisites, and the related subjects
- b. The organized activities of students, as well as the so-called "classes," should be described. Debating, dramatic, literary, music, and athletic clubs should be included in the school facilities.

- c. Lectures, movies, radio programs, and forums should be planned for those who wish them. A careful selection of such facilities can do much in the way of vocational, educational, and social orientation.
- d. A placement service, as part of the regular service of the central office, should keep pupils in touch with employment opportunities.⁸

Opportunities and limitations of vacation schools and summer camps

For the past quarter century urban school systems have sought to organize programs to meet the needs of the great numbers of youths who remain in the cities unemployed and idle. For this purpose, school plants and grounds have been utilized by the teachers and students. Parks and playgrounds have supplemented the school properties, activities thereon being conducted either by the officers of the school department or of special municipal departments.

In many cases summer school programs, especially at the high school level, have degenerated into make-up classes for students who have failed of promotion during the academic year, sometimes with classes for bright, ambitious youths who have determined to anticipate part of their next year's program as a means of accelerating their progress. The institutional lives of such schools are relatively empty of content and inspiration, since students have contact with their fellows and with the teachers only for the brief periods of formal recitations. Hence, such institutions scarcely come within the meaning of the word "school" as it is used by educators.

During approximately the same quarter century that has seen the development and degeneration of summer schools, there have sprung up in all parts of the country summer camps for youths. Many of these camps are private profit-making ventures. Others are conducted by Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., and various other organizations of social purpose. State and county park systems have in some places

⁸ *Ibid.*, Chapters II, III, and IV

encouraged youths and adults to make camps within the park areas.

Wherever the summer camps have been adequately organized with directors, counselors, programs, and equipment, they offer, perhaps, the best model extant for the type of guidance which has been urged throughout this volume. In such camps care is taken of the health and safety of the youths without undue limitation of their freedom to experiment with their own physical and mental resources and their environments. The program includes athletics and physical recreation, co-operative government, dramatics, creative arts and crafts, nature guiding, overnight hikes, and leisure-time individualistic pursuits such as reading, letter writing, fishing, walking, watching, listening, seeking, and contemplation. The environments are frequently areas of natural beauty with challenging semi-inaccessible points of interest to be sought out with not too much and not too little risk and physical strain.

It seems inevitable that public school systems will in time organize their own summer schools on the general pattern set by the best summer camps. In such summer schools the fundamental school arts and even the academic curriculum may have their places, but they will not continue to dominate the programs of these schools.

Instead, all youths who remain in town during the summer vacations will find that the school exists in its derivative sense; it will be a leisure-time environment. It will exemplify such a regimen, program, and counselorship that wholesome youths will glory in it and unwholesome youths will become wholesome.

Guidance and Reconstruction

THE FEUDAL system of Europe and Asia has taken a long time in crumbling. Specific events, movements, and men have stood out dramatically as landmarks during the process and have so signalized definable stages in the breakdown of fixed beliefs, fixed customs, fixed relationships, and fixed political forms that they have created the illusion that medievalism has ended. It is not true.

Again and again amid feudal institutions, enlightenment, assertiveness, protest, and revolt challenged the rigidity of authoritarianism. Suppression, conciliation and compromise, distortion and assimilation, and even frank acceptance of innovation and "heresies" have marked the road from the ecclesiastical, political, and economic autocracies that dominated the world of 1000 A.D. to the individualism and voluntarism that may possibly be attained by 2000 A.D.

Progress toward such a goal is uncertain, unsteady, and poorly coordinated. For convenience we may refer to the pioneers of challenge—sober scholars, showmen, satirists, innovators—as the men who have doomed feudalism. Copernicus and Darwin, Galileo and Luther, Voltaire and Erasmus, Rousseau, Marx, and Einstein come immediately to mind. But none of them or of a hundred others who belong among them spoke for himself alone; whatever his own peculiar contribution, he voiced the accumulated ideas, motives, and doubts of contemporaries and predecessors.

Social mobility resulting from diversification of labor, the growth of towns, the maintenance of public roads, the emergence of capitalism, commercial conformities and codes, the assertion of national sovereignties, the emergence of aspirations among common men undermined all fixed status on which feudalism depended. Recurring wars made immediate goals supreme; they forced the war-makers to encourage and exploit the talents and resources of all men. Once these were released, however partially and reluctantly, it was impossible to subdue them completely later.

Where are we now?

Breakdowns of establishments breed social insecurity, conflict, and visions of new worlds. The potentialities of further struggles among rival ideas and groups are inevitably dominant in every stage of social evolution. Foresight and intelligence are pitted against conservatism and obscurantism, not only within the social order and institutions, but also within the hearts and minds of most individuals at all levels. Holding fast to the spiritual and physical comforts that the old order seems to have assured, one is confronted by the alternative of an adventure which may lead to destruction or to emancipation. It is not easy for man, whether owner, manager, agent, worker, or slave, boldly to grasp the alternative.

The American scene of post-World War II can best be appreciated by considering it as an advanced stage in the curtailment of residual feudal patterns of thought and action. To a degree not possible elsewhere, America has encouraged individual enterprise of diverse sorts and in diverse areas of human action. Nevertheless, the motives of men and the sanctions of social esteem lag always in arrears of contemporary validities. By and large, the vigorous young men and women of 1950 aspire through luck and industry and ingenuity to achieve the status of medieval nobility—clothes, residences, servants, manners, and patronage.

In a world of potential plenty, the configuration of feudal scarcity remains dominant, even though relatively devoid of

actual meaning. Only the esthete, the antiquarian, and the specialist can distinguish any superiority in the clothes, the residences, the "services," manners, and patronage of the tycoon over the employed craftsman in a public housing community. And therein is discovered a major source of frustration, for our dominant ambitions to get ahead are blocked because the "get-ahead" stereotype becomes flat.

Science and technology have robbed social climbing of much of its romance and glamour. The urge to climb remains; but the purpose of the climb no longer has conspicuity. The rich and the moderate poor tend to smoke the same cigarettes, drive the same cars, patronize the same stores and restaurants, wear almost indistinguishable clothes, read the same books and journals, make the same comments, depend on the same mechanical gadgets, and take pride in the same avocational skills. Only in their economic frustrations and worries do they differ; many of the rich regret the insecurities that economic change involves, hence they tend to uphold the *status quo ante*; many of the employed poor fear loss of jobs, ill health, and anonymity in the complex world.

A major underlying shortcoming of vocational, and of some aspects of social, guidance in public schools is to be found in the failure of counselors themselves to recognize the contemporary obfuscation of aspirations and goals. Amid a bewildering array of modern wants, we too often hold up baubles some of which have little if any relevancy to contemporary culture, however meaningful they may have been in pre-industrial and feudalistic times.

Today the economic equivalent of medieval nobles and earlier financial overlords are clever manipulators of the intricate mechanics of social mechanisms—country-clubs, corner gangs, political machines, legal shenanigans, credit systems. And year by year as these atavists threaten the orderly progress of our closely knit and interdependent society, governments—local, state, national, and international—intervene to curb their more dangerous manifestations.

We counselors are bound to fail if, in a social-economic order

that requires coöperation and universal consumption of high level, we applaud individual ambition to exploit one's fellow-men, to "get ahead" of them, to live by cleverness, to outwit them. Every student who may be stimulated to such success must fail, even in and because of his "success" Emergent society has little place for feudal vestiges

While our laggard social transmission institutions—schools, homes, neighborhood clubs, and so forth—have celebrated the manager and manipulator, something else has been happening. Youths have engaged in associational life and have absorbed patterns of behavior and attitudes that characterize them. Human relationships may demoralize, of course, as truly as they may inculcate desirable qualities. Nevertheless, regrettable as examples of bewilderment and atavism may be, it is not hatred and intolerance and selfish indifference that characterize American youth; rather it is cooperation, ingenuity, self-reliance, spontaneity, and overt acceptance, however tentatively and skeptically, of behavior codes

It is this cultural assimilation through associational life of school, army, neighborhood, and travel that stamps our youth as American. In military service or in labor union, in office, industry, or agriculture, on athletic field or in the ballroom, in railway coach or classroom—everywhere he is what he is. Whatever his religious training, his scholastic status, his immediate or remote ancestry, or his physical qualities, he is both unique and reasonably predictable. Given reasonable freedom for adventure, assurance of recognition for his contributions, an occasional token of personal interest, and the security of knowing when to do what, he generally responds with energy, enthusiasm, ingenuity, and good will. Frustration, unrelieved defeat, or association in groups characterized by malevolence, however, too often dissipates the good will, and temporarily, perhaps permanently, diverts the energy, enthusiasm, and ingenuity to the pursuit of misanthropic ends

Neither altogether good nor altogether bad, but with potentialities for both, is this youth. It is because American life

has offered and will continue to foster adventure, recognition, friendly responses, and multifarious group responsibility and interdependence that positive civic and personal traits are so general among our young people as often to disconcert their forgetful elders.

Always in the process of becoming, youths furnish to us counselors the primary materials of our craft. All else are techniques and institutional regulations and practices by which youth and society may be served.

Because our youth is so largely a product of post-feudal American social experience, the obvious program for freeing them from feudalistic vestiges is one of abundant living day by day and year by year. The positive expressions of personality called for therein are the milieu of guided growth.

What lies ahead?

Several controlling factors of social-personal life of today and tomorrow face the educator.

First, all liberal education is self-education under guidance; external disciplinary controls are worse than futile if applied to matters wherein choice is assigned by American culture and ethos.

Second, in the kaleidoscopic world of science, technology, economic opportunity, social safeguards, and human relationships, apparently bound to interact acceleratively year by year, individual and institutional stability can be relative at best, somewhat paradoxically stability is safeguarded by flexibility and adaptability in a world composed of variables.

Third, self-reliance, ingenuity, adventure, and initiative are the cultural and personal traits that characterize American life; for good or for ill, education is compelled to exploit them for social purposes—opposition to them is fatal.

Fourth, because no one aspect of cultural life can be segregated from any other one, no aspect of guidance can be isolated from any other; occupational choice and success, for example, involve matters of physical and emotional adequacies, social

adaptations and personal integrities, communication arts and esthetic judgment, a "sense of humor" and skepticism in face of all absolutes

The counselor as strategist and tactician

As educators have become sensible of the supremacy of inner growth of individuals over the transmission of an artificial, and in degree a socially rejected, cultural inheritance of erudition and intellectual docility, guidance has gained more and more functional dominance in school regimen. The revolution has proceeded under many names—student activities, project-method, socialized discipline, community school, and pupil-teacher companionship. Operationally considered, however, the desideratum and the criterion of success in every such innovation has been the fostering of voluntary acceptance of counsel by competent associates—adult and youth. By trial and error, school regimen has largely escaped from its feudalistic past.

Overt recognition of the central position of guidance in the modern school has, nevertheless, lagged far behind practice. After a half century and more of changing practice, the scholastic stereotype still relegates the counselor and his assistants to preventive and remedial functions serving school and post-school institutional regulations. The dead past lingers in our verbalisms and symbols.

A major challenge for the counselor now and in the days ahead is to bring school and community ideologies into harmony with already accepted effective school practices. The strategy calls for maneuvering administrators, teachers, coaches, custodians, patrons, and board-of-education members into consciousness of the meaning of the roles that behavioristically they already play. However dogmatic may be their attachment to reactionary shibboleths, they are themselves inclined to give and accept counsel because such sharing of experience and advice is approved American practice.

How the persons and factors may be drawn into the overall guidance program and gain conscious pride in their part

in it has been discussed in several of the preceding chapters of this book. The general tactical plan requires the use of an occasion that offers the opportunity for the adult that we seek to reach to "strut his stuff," to aid him in doing an effective job, and to gain for him recognition for his effort to help whoever he reaches to set up and to attain worthy goals. It is thus that the novitiate increasingly associates his guidance acts with his self-esteem.

The counselor holds a key position in progressive education because most successful administration, supervision, teaching, community participations, and parental coöperations of the modern school do actually utilize voluntary counsel, coöperative sharing, and generous recognition of effort. These are the primary characteristics of free men's associational life. These are both the conditions and instruments of guidance; and these are both the conditions and instruments of American democracy as it faces boldly a future of endless spiritual, intellectual, and technological frontiers.

The one world and the common man

The framework of community values and of school practices and approvals is always interrelated. Through the ages there has been dominant in the former various expressions reflecting individual and class assertiveness, privileges, and aspirations. A major dynamic of democracy and of its school has been a straining of the less privileged for the cultural equipment and status of the elite. The farmer would be a country gentleman, the housewife a "lady," the craftsman a guild member, the clerk an entrepreneur. Such ambitions, often frustrated in their own cases, they transferred to their sons and daughters, they supported schools, in large degree, to enable their own children and their neighbors' children to wangle their way into the elite.

Basic to a class system is an assumption that the codes, dress, manners, and other manifestations of an elite are restricted and capable of restriction. As rapidly as a large fraction of the population gains these equipments, the latter lose the prestige

of demarcation. In earlier times literacy, sports' skills, military glamour, conspicuous consumption, erudition, and courtly manners were such hallmarks. Today these equipments cannot be restricted to any privileged classes; hence, as hallmarks of demarcation they are obsolescent. Tomorrow they may be obsolete.

Tomorrow's world is that of the revolution of the common man. He may not win his revolution right away, but he will not stop waging it. Science and technology fight in the long run on his side. They cannot be retarded for long; indeed any effort to make them serve selfish class or national interests will surely destroy the class or nation that would try to restrict them.

The upthrust which has been the dynamic of the Western World has been peculiarly pervasive and important in America. Equality of all men before the law and in their rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness has been a potent ideal. The public school—common, classless, free, tax-supported, non-sectarian—has been an expression of the virility of this aspiration. And its greatest glory continues to be its potency as a controlled environment wherein democratic virtues, social mobility, and individual participation are satisfactorily experienced.

Somewhat paradoxically, not many teachers have been conscious of the continuing American revolution in which they have successfully attained a central position. Certainly they have seldom understood the significance of the social forces to whose triumph they have contributed so much. Indeed, in too many cases, they do not even now consistently approve it.

The revolution of the common man continues in America, as irresistible as ever. It gains new force in other industrialized countries. It threatens obsolete privileges even where agrarian society still dominates—Latin America, the Balkans, Asia, and parts of Africa.

The mythologies and ideals of democracy sanctioned by religion, by appeals to reason, and by the forms of representative government, are given substance by technology. Vigorous men everywhere challenge the *status quo*, as productivity increases

they demand not only greater shares of the product but greater participation in the determination of social policies and practices.

They will not be denied this voice in affairs. Conciliation and compromise may postpone surrender. Obduracy can result only in universal disaster. Science begets social revolution; obscurantism begets chaos.

The high school is a social microcosm

No clear and universal acceptance of the generalization set forth in the preceding paragraphs characterizes the social mandates for the public school. It must continue to reflect the obsolete social stereotypes and obfuscations of influential citizen-taxpayers as well as their insight and their support for progressive practices, among which guidance is so important. Whatever the compromises which educational officers must make in order to maintain public support, they cannot successfully hold back the irresistible revolution of the common man. Presumably they have no intention of trying to do so.

Whether in football or in mathematics class, in dramatics or in debate, in school government or in parental activities, the school reproduces the revolutionary dynamic so far as it has gained momentum in the community at large. In some degree, indeed, faculty members themselves personalize the social mobility characteristic of the revolution; their vocational and civic status has been won by them and their relatives through ambition and effort, almost universally they encourage their youthful associates to aspire to respected positions in school and in post-school life.

Unwittingly, teachers may be harbingers of the revolution of the common man, yet very effectively play that role. Indeed they would scarcely be tolerated by students and parents if they did not do so. The social milieu of the school-community is such that youth are spurred to rise in the social scale. The school, because it is a social microcosm, corresponds to its community.

Youth faces social realities

Associational life and social mobility, so characteristic and so potent in the relatively classless society that is America, are dynamic, but their results may often be both stultifying and obstructive. Popular enthusiasms may sweep along large sections of the population toward moronic adulation of movie stars, athletes, and radio comedians. The conflict and competition often expressed in achieving higher economic status may develop callousness of character. The prestige of cleverness and boldness, as devices for social and economic advancement, may breed disrespect for law, if not actual criminality. The frustration of ambition, whether due to personal inadequacy or to economic collapse of business, may cause serious repercussions, fascism and communism are both perverted expressions of the "revolt of the masses" against such frustrations.

Fortunately, however, life and mobility have positive potentialities that outweigh these negative and adverse ones. The school and other constructive agencies seek to "make the good contagious" by helping youths and their parents find enduring, positive satisfactions in the high esteem of selected audiences. The school seeks to create such audiences both in primary groups—students, teachers, citizens—and vicariously through literature, history, drama, and other curricular and school-life opportunities. Thus the school tips the balance of life-realities in favor of the social objectives which it supports.

Always, however, it capitalizes the democratic dynamic—the aspiration of free men to attain for themselves and their groups the satisfactions of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. This aspiration can be satisfied only within the framework of social realities that neither the student nor the school can directly control.

If in the postwar world there will be compulsory military service for all American youths, their purposes and plans must take account of it. If bitter antagonisms between organized labor and managerial officers of industry and commerce characterize urban life, youths must choose sides. If imperial rival-

ries pervade the world, or other causes for national or international antagonisms triumph over cooperation and conciliation, we cannot escape their influence.

Youth are only momentarily helpless, however, in facing such immediate, disconcerting realities. They are the influential generation of "new voters"; they are potential buyers who determine the fate of manufacturers and distributors of consumer goods, it is they who must support every religious, political, economic, recreational, and cultural institution that is to succeed. It is to them that the reactionary and the radical and the middle-of-the-roader must appeal.

Here we find the supreme challenge of guidance. For here we discover the whole gamut of tentative choices that youth must make—or determinedly evade. In any case they must work out their salvation, if not with fear and trembling then at least with serious recognition that life involves choices.

Universal victory is attainable

Wrong choices do not spell defeat—certainly not spiritual defeat. Choices are tentative; they can be modified throughout life. They may not lead to popular acclaim either immediately or eventually. Self-respect and the approval of the saints may furnish all the satisfaction needed, if individual character is very robust.

It is, however, an implied tenet of democracy and of the revolution of the common man that every normal person can somewhere and somehow achieve a wholesome constructive personality. That is the meaning of our dogma of the dignity of the individual.

Guidance is a lot of things

The patterns of our culture are composed of thousands of overt and of subtle elements. Manners and morals, beliefs and attitudes, knowledge and aspirations are kaleidoscopic. Patterns change in greater or less degree not only with time but with circumstance. Security and self-assertion interplay with specific group orientations and with occasions which call

into being, temporarily at any rate, responses that are peculiar and relatively fleeting

From birth till death the culture patterns shape our personalities, rough hew them as we may. Every success encourages and every frustration vetoes a repetition of our responses. But it is almost impossible either by observation or by introspection to identify the lasting effect of the experience. It is registered in the neurones and blood stream far below the level of consciousness.

“Education” in general and “guidance” in particular, when concerned with objective data and facts, are almost certain to be superficial. The school by itself can neither educate nor guide anyone. It may furnish more accurate information, it may provide conditions which tend to call out approvable responses. Hence it may stimulate and perhaps correct personal qualities that seem likely to help or to hinder wholesomeness and adequacy in life.

Always, however, the educator recognizes that the ego-impulse, the urge for self-expression, is the dynamic force which will not be denied. It drives each individual to respond to circumstances and so to create adaptable selves—sometimes almost as antithetical as those of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. Since, in democratic life, constructive cooperation is more satisfying than cut-throat competition, the responses fostered by humane schools, homes, churches, and other social agencies, encourage the individual to express and so to create a co-operative, kindly self and to discourage the opposite forms of self-expression.

Liberty, equality, and fraternity are not virtues because democracy espouses them. Democracy espouses them because they are virtues—they provide the ideology which shapes, with some success, the morals of all group-life which conforms to the humane tradition of love, reason, and compromise.

Whenever and wherever group-life is characterized by the democratic ethic, there the dynamic ego-impulse fosters kindness, co-operation, and humane growth. In such a setting one's

determination of civic choices, one's preference for conservatism or for adventure and change in law and custom, is least likely to be defeated. Success is found in the striving for, rather than in the attainment of, desired outcomes. Our inalienable rights are not only the *pursuit* of happiness, but also the *pursuit* of liberty, the *pursuit* of life, the *pursuit* of justice, of fraternity, and of all other valued outcomes consonant with these objectives.

Universal victory is attainable in all its significant aspects because the important registry of victory is internal. The kingdom of heaven is within us, not external to us. Victory is the achievement of a wholesome personality which deals tolerantly but constructively with whatever aspects of our multiphased culture pattern that concern it.

In our culture such social maturity is unlikely without economic security, civic participation, and positive human relationships. It may be attained in spite of physical handicaps. Non-conformity of belief, dress, or behavior is not an insuperable obstacle, provided the individual understands and accepts as reality the herd-like quality of human society.

Successful living involves more than job and income

However important economic security and vocational satisfaction may be in the integration of personality, the role of school guidance must be more broadly conceived than that of aiding youth to select and prepare to attain occupational goals. If not, guidance must often fail even in its narrow and isolated function.

Economic security is seldom attained by immature personalities, however great their income and wealth may be. Dissatisfaction and discontent are found in mansions as well as in hovels, in the executive offices as well as in the mills or behind the counters. Because men's stereotyped attitudes retain the adjustments that had perhaps some justification in a pretechnological scarcity economy, fear and suspicion, as a result of ignorance, and consequent unhappiness may, indeed,

tend to increase as the individual rises above the economic median.

Successful living in the age of modern science and invention is our pragmatic goal. The major purpose of guidance, as of all scholastic and community educational efforts, is to help youths and adults to recognize this supreme goal and then to adapt their personal goals in relation to it.

No matter in what degree the desires of each human being vary from those of his contemporaries, and at a given moment from his own aspirations of yesteryear, perhaps even of yesterday, there are some universal constants which apply to all normal people. Each of us seeks the somewhat paradoxical combination of security and adventure at work and at play; we crave recognition and warm response from our associates on the job, at home, at social gatherings. Guidance of youths and of adults is the process of assisting them to set up worth-while dynamic goals that give promise for satisfying these fundamental wishes and of helping them achieve such goals now and in the future.

The best assistance that teachers can give to students in achieving more remote goals is in helping them to attain analogous immediate ones. Security and adventure and their opposites are found in the myriad experiences of everyday life, in school and out of school. Recognition and companionship, of one kind or another, are sought and found by all boys and girls, whether we teachers approve or not.

The preference for contemporary activities and achievements that foster reasonable and approvable security and adventure, recognition, and response is the necessary forerunner of sound life-career and other adult choices. The school-community is a preliminary proving-ground for practice and test of selfhood, and for its assertion and correction.

Hence, not only counselors and teacher-guides but also youths and parents participate in a continuing cooperative project of reciprocal observed experience and assistance. Only as guidance both follows and precedes choices and try-out can it be more than an insulated formality.

A final word

In a society of such accelerating economic revolutions as ours, social engineering becomes an essential service. Without it man is likely to destroy himself. The release of atomic energy was a climax of scientific developments that have gone far beyond the layman's ability to understand. New materials and new processes change occupational needs and functions, distribution of population, wage rates and labor organizations, political alignments and legislative actions.

All this may be confusing to guidance officers who have looked to a world in which occupations and economic conditions seemed to have stability. But the very facts of radical change make the guidance job more significant.

To a degree never before realized, certainty of forecast is impossible. But awareness of the multifarious facts and interacting forces is mandatory. A desire to be as helpful as possible in the situation is essential. Only with such awareness and desire will we make dynamic use of information that becomes available regarding students, both as individuals and as groups, as well as occupations, educational institutions, and social-civic, domestic, and "cultural" activities and opportunities that may foster integration of selfhood. The school-guidance role becomes that of social engineering. The setting of the function is limited, to be sure, but within this setting it is all-important.

Let us keep always in mind the fact that guidance is not new. It is as old and as universal as human society—nor indeed is it unknown among other higher forms of animal life. Both the older and younger generations are consciously and unconsciously influenced by trial and success within their social framework. They are guided by their companions—schoolmates, parents, brothers, and sisters—and by radio commentators, sports writers, religious and civic leaders and the gangsters and sophisticated *thé danseurs* of the movies and the scandal sheet.

Guidance by the classroom teacher and by the counselor can

be effective only as it harmonizes with this heritage and this reality—its practical universality in time and space. Always the ego-impulse drives youth to discover and create a selfhood. Occupational choice is only one relatively remote challenge to be considered in a day-by-day life that encourages, even requires, many and immediate decisions.

Thus, at the flaming forge of life, each youth works out a self-pattern. Our task as teachers and counselors is to help him create as promising a one as possible.

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INDEX

Index

A

Abstract intelligence, practical value, 304-313

Academic dominations, secondary education freed from, 6-8

Academic tradition
conflict between democratic ideal and, 3-6
in control of marks, promotions, and graduation, 4

Activities, pupils', 3

Adler, Alfred, 41, 42-44

Administration, school, guidance demands democratic, 80-81

Adolescence, 21-22
character in, 47-48
complex of factors affects early, 28-30

Adolescents:
bill of rights for, 12-13
records for study of problems of, 151-152

Adult education, 226-227

Advertising, 10-11
development of, 120-121

Advisers, 171-172
advance with students, 172-173

Aesthetic creation embodies aesthetic truth, 317-318

Aesthetic intelligence, 316

Agencies, social, cooperation of all, 367-368

Allen, Richard D., 384, 390

Allen, Wendell C., 149 *n.*

American Dream, the, 133

American Federation of Labor, 11, 385

Anson Academy, North Anson, Me., 280

Appearance, personal, 245-246

Arnold, Dwight L., 56 *n.*

Arnold, Thurman, 134

Art education, Smith Hughes equivalent for, 330-331

Arteries and arterioles, 24

Artistically talented youth
aesthetic creation embodies aesthetic truth, 317-318
artists, how to find, 322-325
every child an artist² 327-327
federal government as patron of art, 328-330
fine arts high schools, 327-328
guiding, 315-332
prospects for new Athens in America, 331-332
Smith-Hughes equivalent for art education, 330-331
value of beauty, 318-322
wolf at the door, 316-317

Artists, how to find, 322-325

Assembly, school, dramatic arts in, 255

Assembly committee, 258-260

Assignments, home
criteria for controlling, 53-55
how long is an hour² 51-55

Athenian assembly, 278

Athletes
fair play for, 232-233
pick-and-shovel, 229-230

Athletics
aesthetic reasons for, 230-231
boy who did not kill himself, 235-241

Athletics (*Cont.*)
 fair play for athletes, 232-233
 guidance through, 228-249
 interdependence of mental and physical health, 241-242
 moral equivalent for 'varsity victory, 233-235
 participation for physically handicapped, 353
 pick-and-shovel athletes, 229-230
 school gets in its own way, 242-244
 success as an intoxicant, 231-231

Atypical class, 333

B

Bass Junior High School, Atlanta, Ga., 279
 Beauty, value of, 318-322
 Becker, Elsa G., 176 *n.*
 Beecher, Willard, 41
 Beers, F. S., 296
 Benjamin Franklin Junior High School, Uniontown, Pa., club prospectus, 213-214, 257
 Berman, Louis, 32
 Bill of rights for adolescents, 12-13
 Biological inheritances
 factors in guidance, 17-30
 furnish fundamental significant postulates of education, 22-26
 Blind students, 353-354
 Blood, behavior of, 23-24
 Bodily functions, 26-27
 Bonar, Hugh S., 56 *n.*
 Braille instruction, 354
 Brewer, 184
 Brigham, Carl C., 157
 Broken homes, 50
 Bronner, Augusta G., 347 *n.*, 360 *n.*
 Brooks, Fowler, 360 *n.*

Bruce, William F., 32-33, 343
 Brueckner, L. J., 159 *n.*
 Bungalow plan, 225-226
 Burnham, William H., 44
 Burt, Cyril, 360 *n.*

C

Camps, summer, guidance in, 393-394
 Capitalism, development of, 118
 Career
 choices hinge on unknown factor, 99-100
 early choice of, 97-98
 Central High School, Springfield, Mass., 56
 Central High School, Tulsa, Okla., 353
 Character.
 guidance for ethical, 31-48
 personality distinguished from, 46
 Charter, homeroom, 196
 Chemistry of the soul, 32-33
 Child, "whole," grows up, 59-61
 Child-trainers, 18
 Chisholm, Leslie L., 72, 202
 Chronological age, 20
 Church, as patron of art, 329
 Civic problems, articulation with adult, 286-287
 Civilization as an objective, 272
 Class play, the, 262-263
 Classroom.
 dramas, 260-262
 teacher, guidance role, 70-90
 Cleanliness, personal, 242-243
 Club programs
 Benjamin Franklin Junior High School club prospectus, 213-214
 bootleg clubs and bottled-in-bond, 209-210

Club programs (*Cont.*)·
 bungalow plan, 225-226
 conservatism of youth, 214-215
 curriculum prompted, 210-211
 fraternities, 222
 honor societies, 222-223
 importance of, 208
 initiation by whom³ 211-214
 instrumentality for guidance, 208-227
 leadership, 215-216
 membership, 216-217
 spontaneity but not laissez-faire, 219-220
 stopping, 223-224
 Student Holding Quotient, 217
 time required, 220-221
 transfer form, 218-219
 value of, 224-225

College entrance:
 requirements, 91-113
 misinterpreted, 106-107
 student examines the colleges, 107-109
 when to choose a college, 104-106

Colleges, student examines, 107-109

Collier's, 10

Columbia High School, South Orange, N. J., 173

Community cooperation for guidance, gaining, 62-63

Competition, 132

Complexity of human biological life, 27-28

Conference procedure, 195

Conflict between democratic ideal and academic tradition, 3-6

Congress of Industrial Organizations, 385

Conkling, Clarence M., 76

Conservatism of youth, 214-215

Cook, Katherine M., 175 n.

Cooke, LaVerne, 88-89

Cooperative League, 135

Cooperative production, distribution, and services, 135-136

Cooperative schools, guidance in, 385-388

Cooperative services, 132

Cooperative Study of Secondary School Standards, 183

Cooperatives, defined, 135

Coordinator, 387

Corpuscles, 24-25

Counseling, economic perspective for, 115-117

Counselor:
 as strategist and tactician, 400-401
 family doctor, the, 192-194
 functions, 171, 182
 horneroom, 188, 198-202
 vocational, faces facts, 124-133

Courtis, S. A., 159 n.

Cowen, Philip A., 155 n.

Cox, Philip W. L., 167 n.

Creative work, 312

Critics, dramatic, 260

Crow, Alice, 175 n.

Crusades, influence of, 117

Cumulative records, importance of, 144-150

Cunliffe, Rex B., 170 n.

Curriculum:
 clubs prompted by, 210-211
 drama in, 250-251
 end of education, 6
 extra-curricular activities, 243
 guidance and college entrance requirements, 91-113
 practices, rigidity of, 1
 standards of value, four, 244-249
 subject organization, 249-251
 subjects of instruction in, 241-302

Curriculum (*Cont.*).
 whole, for the "whole child," 293-296

D

Darwinism, 132-133
 Deaf students, 354
 Dean, Arthur, 34-35
 Decatur Girls' High School, Georgia, 12
 Delinquency.
 cooperation of all agencies, 367-368
 defined, 358-359
 environmental factors in, 359-360
 factors that predispose toward, 360-367
 guidance as redirection of potential, 357-377
 Juvenile court, 368-369
 no single cause for, 362
 prevention, cost of, 375-377
 school's responsibilities, 363-364
 Dell, Floyd, 263
 Democratic ideal, conflict between academic tradition and, 3-6
 Dewey, John, 247
 DeWitt Clinton High School, New York City, 353
 Diagnostic tests, 158-160
 Dickens, Charles, 265
 Disciplinary classes and schools, opportunities and limitations, 371-375
 Douglass, Harl R., 158 *n*
 Dramatic arts
 audience learns something, 255-256
 class play, 262-263
 classroom, 260-262
 cops and robbers, 251-254
 critics, the, 260

Dramatic arts (*Cont.*)
 "education in 1947," 263-264
 guidance through, 250-264
 Hollywooditis, 254-255
 in curriculum, 250-251
 program does not run itself, 256-260
 school assembly, 255
 Ductless glands, 33
 Dull-normal youths
 guiding, 335-338
 negative traits, 338
 Du Shane, Donald, 375-376

E

Economic perspective for counseling, 115-117
 Education
 biological inheritance furnishes fundamental postulates of, 22-26
 estimate of situation, need for, 8
 for citizenship, 272-273
 for having or for being, 270-272
 improvement of, 11
 blocked by minority, 9
 internal process, 3
 secondary, freed from academic dominations, 6-8
 social process, 14
Education for All American Youth, 11
 Educational Records Bureau, 145
 Educational services, improvements in, 9
 Eells, W. C., 155 *n*
 Eliot, Charles W., 352
 Emotional health, 246-248
 Emotional states, 26-27
 Employer-employee relations, 136-137
 Employment
 getting a job, 137

Employment (*Cont.*)
possibilities ahead, 137-140
Endocrine glands, 30
English, Horace B., 155 *n.*
Environment:
attempts to control, 28
factors in delinquency, 359-360
Evaluations:
instrument of guidance, 141-165
newer philosophies and practices, 142-144
Evening schools, guidance in, 388-393
Extra-curricular activities, 293

F

Failure, elimination of, 2
Fear, 27
Federal government as patron of art, 328-330
Feudal system, influence of, 117
Fibrin, 26
Fibrinogen, 26
Fisher, Mildred, 145
Flemming, Cecile W., 159
Ford Motor Company, 121
Fraternities, social, 222
Freeman, Frank S., 32-33, 343
Froehlich, Clifford P., 194 *n.*

G

G I Bill of Rights, 109, 110
Geddes, Patrick, 130 *n.*
Glands
ductless, 33
endocrine, 30
relation to personality, 32
thymus, 28-29
thyroid, 28, 29
Government
crystallization of custom, 276-277

Government (*Cont.*)
student, 273-276
student council, 274-284
Graduation program, 274
Grizzell, F. D., 155 *n.*
Guidance:
biological inheritances as factors in, 17-30
club programs as instrumentality for, 208-217
community cooperation for, gaining, 62-63
cooperative planning for, 167-168
curriculum, 91-113
defined, 3, 72
delinquents, 357-377
demands democratic school administration, 80-81
dull-normal youths, 335, 338
effective psychiatry in, 40-41
evaluations as instrument of, 141-165
evening schools, opportunities and limitations, 388-393
for ethical character, 31-44
for integrated personality, 31-48
for wholesome living, 248-249
full-time vocational school problems, 378-385
homeroom as instrument for, 186-207
in a confused and contradictory world, 61-62
initiating organization for, 165
is a lot of things, 407-407
mental health promoted by, 17-18
mentally defective youth, 333-345
motivation first step in, 12
organization
centralized, 180-183
large schools, 173-177

Guidance (*Cont.*)
 organization (*Cont.*)
 Troup Junior High School, 177-178
 organizing the school for, 164-185
 physically defective youths, 345-356
 planning organization for, 165
 positive objectives of, 13-14
 postwar complications, 110-111
 potentials in student participation, 289-290
 principles of, twelve, 15-16
 problems in schools for mentally or physically deficient students, 352-356
 reconstruction and, 395-410
 records as instrument of, 141-165
 related to out-of-school lives of students, 49-69
 role of classroom teacher, 70-90
 schools for physically and mentally handicapped, 351-352
 self-adjustment and, 1-16
 special-type schools, possibilities and limitations, 378-394
 specialist, 71
 staff organization for, 168-172
 subjects of instruction value in, 291-302
 summer camps, opportunities and limitations, 393-394
 technical and cooperative school, opportunities and limitations, 385-388
 through athletics, 228-249
 through dramatic arts, 250-264
 through health education, 228-249
 through school management, 265-290

Guidance (*Cont.*):
 vacation schools, opportunities and limitations, 393-394
 vocational
 in shifting world, 114-140
 socio-economic change and its effect on, 117-123
 youths of special artistic talents, 315-332
 youths of superior intellectual ability, 303-314

Gymnasium, German, 3

H

Hall, George E, 375 *n.*
 Hamalainen, Arthur Emil, 144 *n.*
 Harbeson, John W, 108 *n.*
 Hart, J K, 301 *n.*
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 329
 Health education:
 cleanliness, personal, 242-243
 emotional, 246-248
 guidance through, 228-249
 personal appearance, 245-246
 sanitation, 242-243
 Healy, William, 347 *n.*, 360 *n.*
 Heart, 24
 Herd behavior, 337
 Heroism, 65-69
 High schools
 American, the, 7
 fine arts, 327-328
 generation of children, 2
 personnel problems of, 4
 social microcosm, 403
 standards, 183-184
 Hodgdon, Daniel R, 342
 Hollywooditis, 254-255
 Home assignments, 49-50
 Home conditions, unfavorable, 360
 Home visiting, 200-202
 Home room
 charter for, 196

Homeroom (*Cont.*).
 counselor, 198-202
 experimental social mechanics, 205-207
 group composition, 196-198
 group is a gang, 187-189
 instrument for guidance, 186-207
 lists, 196
 plans, 204-205
 procedure, 195-196
 raw material for, 194-196
 recipe for failure, 189-191

Homes, broken and normal, 50

Honor roll, 288

Honor societies, 222-223

Hormones, 26, 27, 28

Hull, C. L., 154 *n.*

Human body, 23

Hunger, 342-345

I

Individualism, 132
 doctrine of, 118-120

Infantilism, 17

Inheritances, biological
 factors in guidance, 17-30
 furnish fundamental significant postulates of education, 22-26

Intangibles, measuring, 161-163

Integrated personality, 37-40

Intelligence, abstract or verbal, 20

Intellectually superior youths.
 abstract intelligence, practical value, 304-313
 bases for selecting, 303-304
 guiding, 303-314
 "mental discipline" on the rebound, 313-314

Intelligence Quotient, 20

Irwin, Leslie W., 247-248

J

Johnson, C. S., 180 *n.*

Jones, Howard Mumford, 117

Junior Achievement, 59

Juvenile court, 364-369

K

Kaufers, W. V., 158

Keller, Franklin J., 114, 390

Kelley, Earl C., 284

Kelley, Truman L., 152

Kilpatrick, William Heard, 59

Kirkendall, L. A., 56 *n.*

Koepke, Charles A., 380 *n.*

Koos, Leonard V., 108 *n.*

Kropotkin, 133

Krarracus, William C., 364

L

Ladies' Home Journal, 10

Laissez faire, 118, 121, 133

Lane, Howard A., 362-373

Langfitt, R. Emerson, 167 *n.*

Lass, A. H., 373-374

Lee, J. Murray, 142 *n.*, 158 *n.*

Lesowitz, Mayer, 354 *n.*

Lesser, Edward J., 53

Leucocytes, 26

Lewis, John L., 385

Life.
 complexity of human biological, 27-28
 like a bicycle, 11-12

Life, 10

Lorge, Irving, 153

Loyalties, unspent, using, 63-65

Lycée, French, 3

M

Magazines, national, support of teachers, 10

Marginal area, conserving, 341-342

Markham, Edwin, 309

Martens, Elsie H., 335 *n.*

Mathewson, R. H., 170 *n.*

Matthews, Julia, 360 *n.*

McKown, Harry C., 258

Measurements

- appraisal of newer educational practices, 160
- intangibles, 161-163
- use for prediction, 152-153

Mental age, 20

Mental health.

- guidance to promote, 17-18
- interdependence of physical and, 241-242
- teacher place in movement, 44

Mentally abnormal students, 354-355

Mentally defective youths:

- dull-normal youths, guiding, 335-338
- guiding, 333-345
- marginal area, conserving, 341-342
- prizes for all, 339-341
- schools for, guidance in, 351-352
- second-class minds, good, 338-339
- stupid children are not always hungry, 342-345
- teachers see the *seamy side*, 338

Merrill, Robert B., 280-281

Minard, George C., 375 *n.*

Mind, normal, 44-46

Mooney, R. L., 56 *n.*

Morals, beginning of, 14

Motivation, first step in guidance, 12

Mumford, Lewis, 130 *n.*

Myerson, Abraham, 37

National Association of Manufacturers, 11

Nerve control, 24

- bodily functions normal only when quiescent, 26-27

Nervous reactions, 27

New Basis of Civilisation, Patten, 7

New England town meeting, 278

Newsweek, 10

Normal children, definition, 19-21

Normal homes, 50

Normal mind, 44-46

O

Objectives, guidance, positive, 13-14

Oedipus complexes, 17

One world and the common man, 401-403

Opsonin, 26

Overt behavior, 21

P

Parent-Teacher Association, 200

Parental fixations, 17

Parents' night, 199-200

Parliamentary procedure, 195

Passaic plan, the, 364-365

Patten, Simon, 7

Perkins, George Kidd, 57

Personality.

- beyond, 46-48
- character distinguished from, 46
- development, 31
- physiology as element in, 21-22
- dynamics of, 31
- glandular relation to, 32

Personality (*Cont.*):
 guidance for integrated, 31-48
 ideal, 41-42
 integrated, 37-40
 is organic, 33-37
 kaleidoscopic, 38
 pattern, 36
 social aspect, 33

Personnel problems, high school, 4

Peyser, Nathan, 366

Philadelphia School Board, 180

Physical health, interdependence of mental and, 241-242

Physically defective youths
 guiding, 345-356
 schools for, guidance in, 351-352

Physiology, element in personality development, 21-22

Pierce, Frederick, 29

Pleasure economy, 7

Poley, Irving C., 85

Post, Langdon W., 359

Postwar guidance complications, 110-111

Pratt, George K., 99

Prediction:
 adequateness of, 153-158
 use of tests and measurements for, 152-153

Principal, formulation of policy by, 166-167

Prizes for all, 339-341

Progressive Education Association Eight-Year Study, 145

Prosser, 380

Prothrombin, 26

Psychiatry, effective, 40-41

Psychoanalysis, 18

Psychological basis of wealth, 130-132

Psychology, individual, 42-44

Puberty, 21-22, 29

Publicity, development of, 120-121

Pyle, W. H., 156

R

Reader's Digest, 10

Recognition, 287-289

Reconstruction, guidance and, 245-410

Records:
 cumulative, importance of, 144-150
 forms, 145-149
 instrument of guidance, 141-160
 personnel, 390-391
 security and availability, 160-161
 using for study of problems of adolescence, 151-152

Report cards, educational balance sheet, 8

Richardson, H. D., 156n.

Rugg, Earl, 142n

Runnels, Ross O., 145

Rural slums, 361

Russell, Bertrand, 140

S

Salaries, drive for higher, 10

Sanitation, 242-243

Saturday Evening Post, 10

Scholarship as a tool, 87-90

School assembly, dramatic arts in, 255

School management:
 articulation with adult civic problems, 286-287
 guidance potentials in student participation, 249-250
 guidance through, 215-216
 student council, 278-284
 student government, 273-276

Schools
 belong to whom? 268-269

Schools (*Cont.*):
 cooperative, guidance in, 385-388
 disciplinary, opportunities and limitations, 371-375
 evening, guidance in, 388-393
 for physically and mentally handicapped, guidance in, 351-352
 organizing, for guidance, 164-185
 ownership entails obligations, 269-270
 responsibilities to delinquents, 363-364
 special-type, guidance in, 378-394
 technical, guidance in, 385-388
 vacation, guidance in, 393-394
 vocational, full-time, guidance problems, 378-385

Scott, W. Joe, 279

Second-class minds, good, 338-339

Segal, David, 142 *n.*, 155 *n.*

Self, awareness of, 33-34

Self-adjustment, guidance and, 1-16

Serum, 25

Sex delinquency, 360

Sex development, 21-22

Sexson, John A., 108 *n.*

Sherrington, G. S., 23

Simmons, Christine K., 375 *n.*

Slum areas, factors in delinquency, 359-360

Smith, Eugene R., 145 *n.*

Smith-Hughes Act equivalent for art education, 330-331

Social fraternities, 222-223

Social recognition, 287-289

Social workers, 370 contributions, 178-180

Societies, honor, 222-223

Socio-economic change and its effect on vocational guidance, 117-123

Soul, chemistry of, 32-33

Staff organization for guidance, 168-172

Standards, secondary school, 183-184

Stead, W. H., 379 *n.*

Stein, Louis, 355

Steinmetz, Charles P., 352

Stocking, William R., Jr., 279 *n.*

Student council, 278-284

Student government, 273-276 recognition, 287-289
 teacher responsibilities, 284-286

Subject organization, 299-301

Subject teaching:
 an abomination, 291
 conventional, 73

Subjects of instruction
 guidance value, 291-302
 harvest, what are we bid for our? 302
 standards of value, four different, 296-299
 subject organization, 299-301
 whole curriculum for the "whole child," 293-296

Subnormal youths, 335-336

Summer camps, guidance in, 393-394

Symonds, P. M., 55, 161, 361

T

Teachers
 classroom, guidance role, 70-90
 design for new, 90
 friends of, 10
 place in mental hygiene movement, 44-45
 precept versus example, 286

Teachers (*Cont.*)
 pupil knowledge necessary, 74-76
 responsibilities in student government, 284-286
 role in educative process, 73
 self-valuation, 10

Technical schools, guidance in, 385-388

Teen-Age Bill of Rights, 13

Testing
 aptitude, 143
 conventional, 142
 diagnostic tests, 158-160
 for prediction, 152-153
 standardized, 142-143

Theory of the Leisure Class, The, Veblen, 130

Thorndike, Edward L., 153

Thrasher, Frederic M., 359

Thrombin, 26

Thurstone, 161

Thymus gland, 28-29

Thyroid gland, 28, 29

Time, 10

To a Teacher-Friend, Cooke, 88-89

Transitions, school practices during, 4

Traxler, Arthur E., 145 n

Treanor, John H., 243

Troup Junior High School, New Haven, Conn., 177-178

Tyler, Ralph W., 145 n., 159 n., 161

V

Vacation schools, guidance in, 393-394

Veblen, Thorstein, 101, 130

Visceral behavior, 21

Vocational guidance
 in shifting world, 114-140

Vocational guidance (*Cont.*)
 socio-economic change and its effect on, 117-123

Vocational schools, full-time, guidance in, 378-385

W

Wages, movement against higher, 121-123

Warters, Jane, 45

Waste, conspicuous, 101-104

Watson, 161

Wealth, psychological basis of, 130-132

Wells, H. G., 140-230

Whittier's *Snowbound*, 207

Wholesome living, guidance for, 248-249

Withers, J. W., 375 n

Woman's Home Companion 10

Wood, Ben D., 153, 161, 290

Work experience, 58-59

Works Progress Administration, 329-330

Wrightstone, 161

Y

Youth
 artistically talented, guiding, 315-332
 conservatism of, 214-215
 dull normal, guiding 333-338
 faces social realities, 404-405
 intellectually superior, guiding, 303-314
 mentally defective, guiding, 333-345
 physically defective, guiding, 345-356
 serious side to, 55-59
 subnormal, 335-336
~~ups and downs of role of 122~~